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VOL. XI NO. 306 BOMBAY SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1923. TWO ANNAS.

The Bombay Chronicle

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ALL COMMUNICATIONS intended for publication in the "Bombay Chronicle" must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. In preparing manuscripts correspondents are requested to write on one side of the paper only, and to address their communications to the EDITOR, and not to any member of the staff by name. Attention to this rule will save much inconvenience and delay.

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The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications unless a stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed for the purpose.

BUSINESS communications of every kind (advertisements, changes of address, etc.) should be addressed to the MANAGER. Advertisements intended for insertion in the next day's paper must reach the Office not later than 3 p.m.

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Daily Edition.

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Half-Yearly ...	,, 16	,, 18
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Opp. Jumma Masjid.
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2. Rangoon, Madras, Colombo.
3. Calcutta and Karachi via coast ports.
4. Rangoon, Calcutta according to demand.

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Agents.
Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

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P. & O.
AND
BRITISH INDIA
COMPANIES INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND.
MAIL & PASSENGER SERVICE.
P. AND O. SAILINGS TO PLYMOUTH AND LONDON CALLING AT MARSEILLES.
All Passengers are required to be in possession of passports.

Date.	Steamer.	Connecting at Aden with	Tons
29th Dec.	Dongola ..	Mongolia *	16,385
5th Jan.	Mantua † ..		10,302
12th ,,	Kaiser-I-Hind X ..		11,430
19th ,,	Plassy ..		7 303
26th ,,	Dongola ..	Narkunda *	16,227
2nd Feb.	Delta ..		8,097
9th ,,	Macedonia X ..		11,089
16th ,,	Malwa † ..		10,041
23rd ,,	Dongola ..	Moldavia *	16,277
1st March.	Mantua ..		10.902
8th ,,	Mores X ..		10,911
15th ,,	Caledonia ..		7.622
22nd ,,	Dongola @ ..	Mooltan @	20,700
29th ,,	Kaisar-I-Hind ..		11,430
5th April	Nalders X ..		15,993
9th ,,	Devanha ..	Extrasteamer	8,092
12th ,,	Malwa ..		10,941
19th ,,	Dongola ..	Maloja *	20,700
26th ,,	Macedonia ..		11,089
3rd May.	Plassy ..	China X ..	7,952
10th ,,	Mantua ..		10,902
17th ,,	Dongola ..	Mongolia *	16,385
24th ,,	Caledonia ..		7,622
31st ,,	Plassy ..	Narkunda *	16,227

X Through steamers from China have limited accommodation for passengers from India.
† Terminate voyage at Marseilles.
@ Does not convey passengers from India
* Through steamers from Australia. Have limited accommodation for passengers from India

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS.
Bombay to Port Said and Plymouth.

Date about	Steamer.	Tons.
28th Dec.	Matiana ..	8,965
11th Jan.	Domala ..	8,441
25th ,,	Mashobra ..	8.324
8th Feb.	Dalgoma ‡ ..	5,800
22nd ,,	Morvada ..	8,193
7th March	Mandala ..	8,246
21st ,,	Dumana ..	8,660
4th April	Manela ..	8,263
18th ,,	Matiana ..	8,965
2nd May.	Domala ..	8,441
16th ,,	Mashobra ..	8,324

‡ Cargo vessel only, will not convey passengers

P. & O. SAILINGS, BOMBAY TO JAPAN VIA, COLOMBO, SINGAPORE, HONGKONG AND SHANGHAI.

28th Dec	Mores ..		10,911
15th January	Sondan † ..		6,698
25th ,,	Nalders ..		15,993
22nd Feb.	China ..		7,952
18th March	Sondan † ..		6,69
24th April	Sicilia † ..		6,813

† Proceeds as far as Shanghai only.

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS.
TO AFRICA, KARACHI, PERSIAN GULF TUTICORIN, COLOMBO, MADRAS, CALCUTTA AND RANGOON.

Date about	Steamers.	Destination.
28th Dec.	VARSOVA ..	Busreh via K'chi.
29th ,,	COLABA ..	Colombo, Madras and Calcutta
29th ,,	CHAKLA	Karachi vi. Kwar
30th ,,	GAIRSOPPA.	Tuticorin, Colombo and Rangoon
30th ,,	VITA ..	Karachi via K'war
3rd Jan.	BAMORA ..	Busreh via K'chi & P. Gulf Ports
9th ,,	KARAGOLA ..	East & S. Africa

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Branches:—Girgaum & Poona City.
Assets exceed Rs 40 00,000/-
SAVINGS BANK 5% p.a.
INVESTMENTS mainly in or against Government of India Securities.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECURITIES Bought and Sold promptly.
ADVANCES GRANTED against Gold and Government of India Securities.
DR. PRABHAKAR S. SHILOTRI, M.A., PH. D.
Managing Director

THE EASTERN BANK, LTD.
(Incorporated in England.)
HEAD OFFICE:
4, Crosby Square, London, E. C. 3.
BRANCHES:

Amara	Colombo
Baghdad	Hillah
Bahrein	Karachi
Basrah	Madras
Bombay	Mosul
Calcutta	

Authorised Capital	£2,000,000
Paid-up Capital	£1,600,000
Reserve Fund	£ 300,000
Reserve Liability of Shareholders	£1,000,000

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:
J. S. Haskell, Esqr., Chairman.
Sir J. Legh Wood, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., Deputy Chairman.
Sir Percy Wilson Newson, Bart.
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BOMBAY BRANCH.
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INTEREST will be allowed on Fixed Deposits for one or two years at rates to be ascertained on application.
CURRENT ACCOUNTS opened and Fixed Deposits received for shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on application.
INTEREST allowed on Savings Deposit Accounts at 4 per cent. per annum. Copies of the Rules may be obtained on application.
BILLS OF EXCHANGE purchased. Loans and Credits granted on approved security and every description of Banking and Exchange Business undertaken. Purchases and sales of British and Foreign securities effected on usual terms.
L. F. TUCKER,
Manager.

THE UNION BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED.

SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL ...	Rs. 1,19,70,000
PAID-UP CAPITAL ...	Rs. 59,85,000

(30-9-23).
CURRENT ACCOUNTS:—
Interest allowed at 3 per cent per annum from January to June.
2½ per cent per annum from July December.
FIXED AND SHORT DEPOSITS received. Rates to be ascertained on application.
Every description of Banking Business Transacted.
Managing Agents:—
THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LTD.

THE BANK OF INDIA, LD.
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(Incorporated under the Indian Companies Act VII of 1882.)
HEAD OFFICE:
ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY
Branch ..... Ahmedabad
LONDON AGENTS:
THE WESTMINSTER BANK, LTD.
CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED .....Rs. 2,00,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ..... Rs. 1,00,00,000
RESERVE FUND ..... Rs. 72,50,000
CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.
Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 AT THE RATE OF 2½ PER CENT. PER ANNUM THROUGHOUT THE YEAR. On sums exceeding Rs 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 3 per half year.
FIXED DEPOSITS.
Deposits are received fixed for one year or for shorter period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.
SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNTS opened on favourable terms. Rules on application.
A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK, LIMITED.
ESTABLISHED 1895.

Capital Authorised	1,00,00,000
Capital Issued	50,00,000
Capital Subscribed	50,00,000
Capital Paid-up	27,27,727
Reserve Fund	28,00,000

HEAD OFFICE: LAHORE.

Amritsar	Hafizabad	Multan City
Amballa City	Hoshiarpur	Montgomery
Amballa Cant	Hyderabad (Sind)	Okara (Dist. Montgomery)
Bombay	Jullundur	Peshawar City
Cawnpore	Jhelum City	Patiala
Calcutta	Jammu	Quetta
Delhi	Karachi	Rawalpindi
D. I. Khan	Kasur	Sargodha
Ferozepore	Lahore City	Sialkot
Gujranwalla	Lyallpur	Srinagar
Gojra	Ludhiana	
Hapur		

CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened and interest allowed at 3per cent. from January to June and 2½ per cent. from July to December at Bombay on a minimum daily balance of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000.
FIXED DEPOSITS are received for 12 months and shorter periods at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.
SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.—Sums as low as Rs. 5 received and interest allowed at 4½ per cent. pent annum.
LOANS, OVERDRAFTS and CASH CREDITS.—The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.
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For other particulars and rules of business apply to—
DES RAJ MEHRA,
Manager.

THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK, LIMITED.
(REGISTERED IN JAPAN.)
(ESTABLISHED 1880.)

Subscribed Capital	Yen 100 000,000
Paid-up Capital	Yen 100 000.000
Reserve Fund	Yen 73,000,000

HEAD OFFICE: YOKOHAMA
BRANCHES:

Batavia	Kobe	Saigon
Bombay	London	San Francisco
Buenos Aires	Los Angelos	Seattle
Calcutta	Lyons	Shanghai
Changchun	Manila	Singapore
Darien	Nagasaki	Shimonoseki
Fengtien	Newchwang	Surabaya
Hamburg	New York	Sydney
Hankow	Nagoya	Tientsin
Harbin	Osaka	Tokyo
Hongkong	Peking	Tsinan
Honolulu	Rangoon	Tsingtau
Kai Yuan	Rio de Janeiro	Vladivostock

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS are opened for approved customers and interest is allowed at the rate of two per cent. per annum on daily balances of not less than Rs. 1,000 provided that the amount of half-yearly interest is not less than Rs. 5.
FIXED DEPOSITS are received for one year or shorter period on terms which may be ascertained on application.
Every description of BANKING and EXCHANGE business transacted.
H. YAMAZAKI,
Manager
Hornby Road, Bombay.
Post Box No. 207.

HONGKONG & SHANGHAI BANKING CORPORATION
(Incorporated in Hongkong.)

AUTHORISED CAPITAL	$50,000,000
ISSUED AND FULLY PAID-UP	$20,000,000
RESERVE FUND STERLING ...	£ 4,500,000
SILVER	$24,500,000
RESERVE LIABILITY OF PROPRIETORS	$20,000,000

HEAD OFFICE: HONGKONG.
LONDON OFFICE:
9, Gracechurch Street. E. C.
BOMBAY OFFICE:
40, Churchgate Street.
OTHER BRANCHES.

Amoy	Hongkong	Rangoon
Bangkok	Ipon	Sangon
Batavia	Johore	San Francisco
Calcutta	Kobe	Shanghai
Canton	Kuala Lumpur	Singapore
Chefoo	Lyons	Scurabaya
Colombo	Malacca	Sungei Patani
Darien	Manila	Tientsin
Foochow	Nagasaki	Tsingtau
Haiphong	New York	Vladivostock
Hamburg	Peking	Yloilo
Harbin	Penang	Yokohama
Hankow		

CURRENT ACCOUNTS opened and interest allowed half-yearly on daily balance of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,00,000 at 2 per cent. per annum provided the sum accrued amounts to Rs. 5.
FIXED DEPOSITS received for varying periods on terms which may be learnt on application.
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BANKING.

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AUTHORISED AND SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL	Rs. 40,00,000
CAPITAL CALLED UP	Rs. 35,50,000
RESERVED FUND IN GOVERNMENT PAPER	Rs. 23,50,000
CONTINGENCY FUND for equalisation of Dividends, Provision for bad or doubtful debts, adjusting fluctuations in values of investments, etc.	Rs. 6,00,000

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BRANCHES:
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SUB-AGENCIES.
Allahabad City Office, Amritsar, Aminabad Park, Lucknow, Benares, Cawnpore, City Office Chaudausi, Fyzabad, Hapur, Hathras, Lucknow City Office, Lyallpur Moradabad, Muttra, Rae Bareli, Sitapur and Shajahanpur.
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LONDON BANKERS.—The P. and O. Banking Corporation, Limited. The National Provincial and Union Bank of England, Limited.
CURRENT ACCOUNTS.—Interest at 2 per cent. allowed on balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 100,000 provided the interest amounts to Rs. 5 per half year.
FIXED DEPOSITS.—Received for long or short period on terms which may be ascertained on application.
SAVING BANK DEPOSITS.—Small sums received. Copy of Rules can be obtained on application. Government paper and other securities purchased and sold, the custody thereof undertaken and interest and dividends realised. Loans and Cash credits granted.
Currency Notes of any Circle, Cheques and Hundies are received for credit in Fixed Deposits account free of charge. Banking business of every description transacted. Copy of Rules may be had on application at the Head Office and at any of the Branches.
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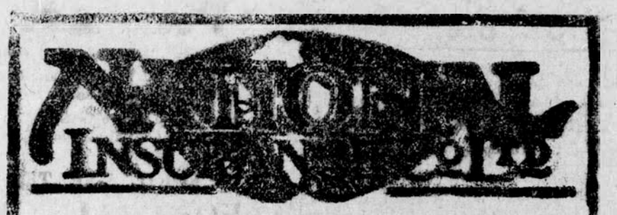
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(3) A FREE PAID-UP POLICY for an amount equal to the original Sum Assured PAYABLE at DEATH after 25 years.
In addition to these Benefits a Policy-holder has the choice of Valuable Alternative Benefits.
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P. CHAUDHURI, Secretary, Head Office, CALCUTTA.



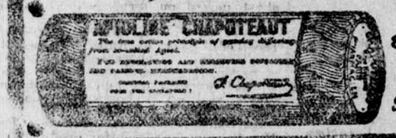
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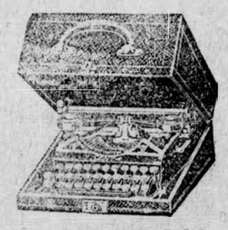


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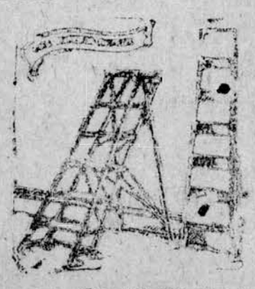


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Along with our Deformity Institution we have our complete X-Ray department where we examine, if necessary, the patients under X-Rays for accurate and Scientific diagnosis.

SUPERINTENDENT,
The Zander Orthopedic and Medico-Electric Institute
(N. POWELL & Co.)
Lamington Road, **BOMBAY.**



MANGO PULP.
A delicious Indian fruit Pulp of great food-value and highest Purity.
The only perfect substitute for the fresh ripe graft Mango on the World's market.
REFUSE ALL IMITATION
WHOLE SALE.
Patell Limited
151, Chuckla St. Bombay, 3.

ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES

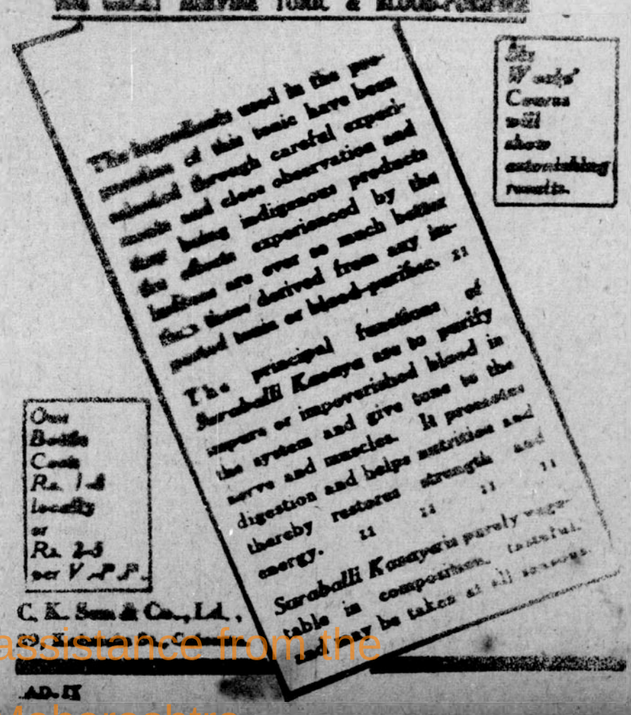
IRONS FOR CLOTH, KETTLES, BILLIARD BRUSHES, | SOLDERING IRONS, HAIR DRYERS, HOT WATER BAGS, | WATER HEATERS, CARPET CLEANERS, BED WARMERS.

Electric Pumping Plants for house water supply, Town Water Works, Irrigation Schemes to force water from 50 to 1000 feet head, any capacity, most economical in working.

Generators, Motors, Dynamos, House Lighting Sets, Motors for Textile Mills, Motors for Chain Drive for Weaving Sheds, Electric Welding and Cutting Sets, Air compressors, Electric Cables and all other Electrical Accessories always ready in stock for immediate delivery.

The Indian Engineering Company, 35, Nanabhai Lane Hornby Road Bombay
Telephone: 1386. Telegram: "GRACLE"

Suraballi Kasaya
KING OF LIVER RESTORE TONIC & BLOOD PURIFIER



AD-II

Mhatre's Art Studio.



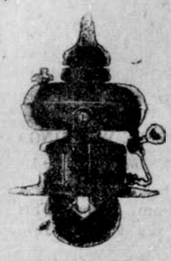
Photograph of the Memorial bust of the late
RAI PANNALALJI MEHTA, I. I. E., Dewan of Udaipur State.
(by G. K. Mhatre.)

Works in Marble and Bronze Statues both Ideal and Memorial as well as Portraits, Designs, etc., executed to order.

Proprietor:—
G. K. MHATRE,
Sculptor.
Sandhurst Bridge, Chowpaty,
BOMBAY 7.

No. 8, Waterloo Mansions, Museum West, BOMBAY.
THE ONLY PLACE in India where
HYDROCELE
Is Cured by Qualified Experts
CENT PER CENT
by painless methods not necessitating confinement to bed. Patients attend to their daily avocations while under treatment.
Apply:—ELECTRO-THERAPEUTIST
N.B.—If you hesitate in the least degree to secure the benefit of this treatment before undergoing it, why not bring your family Doctor with you to whom convincing proof will be addnced!

Smallest New Arc Lamp.



Burns Ordinary Kerosine Oil
Light & Handy Pattern
Low Consumption Simple Reliable
Price — on application
AMERICA INDIA EXPORT & IMPORT Co.,
Lohar Chawl, Princess Street, BOMBAY No. 2

PRICES REDUCED.



All kinds of stove prices have been reduced and Selling Prices Rs. [illegible] Only. Postage extra.
D. R. WAGLE, STOVE SPECIALISTS.
Tram Terminus, Girgaum

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CLASSIFIED ADVTS.

Readers' Private Short Advertisements are inserted in these columns at the following rates:—

FIRST 20 WORDS—ONE RUPEE.

Every additional word—One Anna.

CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER.

The full name and address of the advertiser is required, not necessarily for publication.

Advertisers who do not wish their names and addresses published will be given a Box number. The words "apply Box No. ....., Advertisement Department, "Bombay Chronicle" to be paid for.

Replies to advertisements cannot be forwarded, but can be obtained at the office on production of the voucher.

Answers to advertisements should be addressed as follows:—Box Number ....., Advertisement Department, "Bombay Chronicle" Office, Bombay.

Unclaimed replies to advertisements are destroyed after one month.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

WANTED—A SHORTHAND TYPIST for English Engineering Firm in Fort: State experience and salary required, Box No. 9953 Advt. Dept. 'Bombay Chronicle.'
A R18512

WANTED—A SHORT-HAND TYPIST with good speed. Apply Messrs. LALA & CO., Solicitors, Ismail Bldg. Above Eastern Bank.

WANTED—Well experienced ENGINEERS Electric and Mechanical for a Native State, salary according to qualifications. Apply sharp to THE MANAGER, ORIENTAL SERVICE BUREAU, DELHI.
A R9312

YOCO BOOK-POLISH.—Absolutely indispensible to lawyers, students, libraries and record offices.—WANTED AGENTS throughout India.—YOGENDRA & CO., Bulsar.
A R9185

WANTED—For a Newspaper Office, a smart ASSISTANT to keep accounts and do general office work. A shorthand typist preferred. Salary Rs. 100. Apply sharp Box No. 9950, Advt. Dept. "Bombay Chronicle."
A R9334

WANTED—EXPERIENCED and INFLUENTIAL AGENTS and CANVASSERS for our FIRECLAY GOODS on pay, commission or both. Apply to THE UPPER INDIA TRADING CO., The Mall, Cawnpore.
A R9317

WANTED—For Private Nursing Staff. Fully trained INDIAN NURSES. Salary Rs. 40-5-70 plus 10 per cent. on fees earned and 20 per cent. General Allowance. Free Board and Lodging. Apply: LADY SUPERINTENDENT, Cama Hospital, Bombay.
A C18417

WANTED—CHIEF AGENTS, AGENTS and CANVASSERS for an Insurance Company, on pay, commission or both according to guarantee of business. Apply to SECRETARIES, ALL INDIA UNITED INSURANCE CO. LTD., 72, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.
A 18287

WANTED—YOUTHS desirous of joining service immediately to see Manager, STANDARD TYPEWRITER CO., at 259/261, Hornby Road, opp. Messrs. Cox and Co., to learn Pitman's Phonetic Shorthand and Typewriting by Touch System (Blind) at exceptionally moderate rates. Individual coaching until successful. Limited accommodation in Shorthand Speed Class. Success Guaranteed. Join to-day. Enrolment daily.

WANTED for an up-country small Printing Press, a few COMPOSITORS, BINDERS, RULINGWALLAS, PRESSMEN, Salaries according to qualifications, also one experienced MANAGER, who must be well conversant with Press work, salary Rs. 150, only experienced hands need apply to the MANAGER, COMMERCIAL PRINTING PRESS, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.
A R9326

WANTED—A LADY SUPERINTENDENT for the Girls' School of the Jaipur State.—salary Rs. 100 per mensem plus an allowance of Rs. 25. The applicant must have a very thorough knowledge of Hindi and Arithmetic—and a fair knowledge of English and of Sanskrit also if possible. She must be expert in needle work and in cooking—and must be a Sanatan Dharmist by Religion. Applications stating age, experience, and detailed qualifications with copies of testimonials must reach the DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, Jaipur State, Jaipur by the 10th of January, 1924.
A 18498

LET ME HELP YOU:—Pay as you earn. Every man is the Architect of his own Fortune! Are you qualified for a big position? We can teach you rapidly and perfectly Shorthand and Typewriting Rs. 6 per month, Accountancy, Modern Business Methods, Banking, Insurance, Costing, Auditing, Law, etc., Rs. 5 per subject. SERVICE GUARANTEED. Candidates for the Examinations of The Union of Educational Institute, and The National Union of Teachers must pay their fees on or before the 5th January, 1924. New term commences from 2nd January 1924. Apply The PRINCIPAL, LENTIN'S COMMERCIAL COLLEGE, 283, Hornby Road.
A R9339

SITUATIONS WANTED.

A Well Experienced Weaving Master seeks ENGAGEMENT either as an ASSISTANT or WEAVING MASTER. Salary reasonable. Apply to Box No. 9940, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle."
B R9271

FREE PASSAGE by Young, enthusiastic and qualified Hindoo conversant with machinery, for London or Continent about March, willing to serve in any capacity. Please correspond Box No. 9952 Advt. Dept. 'Bombay Chronicle.'
B 9353

MR. H. C. READ, B.Sc. (Birmingham), the well-known Coal, Mining and Geological expert, is prepared to act as Agent in Calcutta for the purchase of fuel for Ginning Presses, Factories, Mills, Iron Foundries, etc., on commission. Loading of coal supervised and deliveries assured. He will also undertake consulting, mining and geological work. Reply c/o Post Box No. 2072, CALCUTTA.
T15258

HOUSES & FLATS TO LET

TO LET—For Vegetarian Hindus at Alawia Building, Block No. B. C. opp. Ilyas Mills, Tardeo. Apply within.
C R9274

TO LET—Big OFFICE ROOM, GODOWN with Electric light at 42, Cawasji Patel Street. Rent Rs. 50 and 25. Apply within.
C R9347

TO BE LET.—81, Mothbai Street, Byculla, Esmail Villa, first floor. Apply to DADA DEWRAJ, Chucla Street.
C R9328

TO BE LET.—Medows Street, Fort, Prince Buildings, THIRD FLOOR. Apply to S .V. SIVJI, Royal Terrace, opp. Colaba Station, Telephone No. 4769.
C R9327

TO LET—A BUNGALOW at Virle Parle, two minutes' walk from Station with best accommodation garden and well. See HAKIMJI AMIJI, Dhobi Galli, Zakaria Masjid, Phone No. 2454.
C R9303

A DECENT BUNGALOW with garden at Kurla, Hall Road, 10 minutes' walk from Ry. Station. Apply AMIRUDDIN CHANDABHOY Mandvi, Koliwada, Shaikhbhoy Building.
C R9346

TO BE LET—In a building, nearing completion at the junction of Bapty Road, and Duncan Road, three spacious BLOCKS on ground floor, specially suitable for showrooms, restaurants and stores, etc., and such similar nine ones on first, second and third floors, suitable for clubs, offices, boardinghouses and hotels, etc. All necessary constructional conveniences made to our expense. For particulars apply personally to MEGHJI VALABHDASS, Vallabh Bag, Ghatkoper.
C R9258

HOUSES & FLATS WANTED.

WANTED—A small COTTAGE, opposite the sea in suburb upto Virar with two rooms and a kitchen and compound. Intending sellers apply to Box No. 9951, Advt. Dept. "Bombay Chronicle."
D R9352

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE.

ON VIEW—The best and valuable furniture of well-known make of 1 Dinning and Drawing, 3 Bedrooms and verandha with passage will be sold by Public Auction at Charni Road Oppt. Level Crossing next to Dattoobhoy Building, Backbay View on SUNday 30th December, at 2-30 p.m. (S.T.) by BENNETT & CO., See Auction Advertisement.
H R9340

MOTOR AND ACCESSORIES

FOR HIRE.—New 5 seater private MOTOR CARS for evening time or for office work or for any hour in the day or night or weekly or monthly. Apply Parsi Dairy Farm, Princess Street, Engineer Building.
JA R9342

EDUCATIONAL.

THE KALKADEVI SHORTHAND AND TYPEWRITING INSTITUTION—Established 1898.—The most successful and therefore the best. Testimonials from Members of Parliament and other Europeans, etc., etc., Subjects. Book-keeping and Accountancy Typewriting, Shorthand and Shorthand Speed Classes and all other commercial subjects. Special arrangement for Ladies. Managing Proprietor. GOPALDAS LALDAS, Princess Street, corner Kalkadevi Road, Bombay.

INSTITUTE OF COMMERCE—Established 1906—Sound Training in Book-keeping and Accountancy, Auditing, Banking, Law, etc., imparted by Principals, A. J. Mukati and R. S. Bharucha (Late of the Kalbadevi Shorthand and Typewriting Institution). Fees moderate. Enrolment daily. Classes morning and evening. Kanta Terrace, Kalbadevi, Bombay, Prospectus on application.

DAVAR'S COLLEGE—B. Com. of London (Exam. to be held in Colombo) and Cambridge Senior Local (in Bombay), Shall enrol a limited number. Also other Commerce, Banking and Auditing Exams. Prospectus on enquiry. Great Western Bldg., Apollo St.
M R9335

MISCELLANEOUS FOR SALE

BEST "PIANOS" FOR SALE OR HIRE, and on the monthly payment system. Apply to Mr. R. D. PUNVELIWALLA, Contractor's Building, near Police Station, 4th Block, 2nd floor, Lamington Road, Bombay No. 7.

PROFESSION

PILES and FISTULA—Guaranteed radical cure. No operation. No pain and no troubles. All disorders stopped in a very short time. Trial solicited. NILESHWAR SHIVARAO, Specialist in Piles and Fistula, No. 4, Esote Building, Girgaon, Bombay. Attendance 7 to 9-30 a.m. Evening 7 to 8 p.m.
R9692

PROSELDIS EFFERVESCING TABLET for Ladies: Recommended by Miss Etti Rout. Write RIGHT AGENCY, Gordhandas Building, opposite Portuguese Church, Girgaum, Bombay.
R8884

LEPROSY AND LEUCODERMA.

10,000 PACKETS FREE.

I have arranged to distribute about 10,000 sample packets of my cure for LEUCODERMA or WHITE LEPROSY to prove its efficacy and to show that the disease is not incurable as supposed. It never fails. The sample packet will be enough to produce wonders in only one inch spot. Write for it at once per V. P. P. for As 6 to meet the cost of its transmission.

Leprosy and its Treatment.

A close study of this treatise will enable even a lay reader to treat cases of leprosy and all forms of skin disease with success without the assistance of a medical man.

Price Rs. 2. V. P. charges As. 5.

Correspondence in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali or English.

PANDIT KRIPARAM.
Nadibagan Lane Salkia, CALCUTTA.

TRADE ANNOUNCEMENTS.

ARE YOU DOWN WITH
Malarial Fever
EVERY NOW and AGAIN?
There is a mighty good way open RIGHT NOW to be rid of the demon.
"Neocuro"
is the reliable GERMAN REMEDY for you.
PROPHYLACTIC MEDICINE CO.
Shirkey Bldgs., Hornby Road, BOMBAY.
(Adjoining Evans Fraser and Co.,)
Wanted:—SUB-AGENTS.

TRY! TRY!! TRY!!!—PAUL'S New Year's ALMOND CAKES at Specially Reduced Rates Rs. 1-2 per lb. during NEW YEAR only. PAUL & CO., 363, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
T R9329

TURKISH BATH—INSURANCE POLICY of Health and Beauty. Attended by Qualified Nurse, Opp. Whiteaway, 303, Hornby Road,
T R9354

HEN EGG'S HALWA—Royal Tonic food for Winter Season. A positive necessity to all. Excellent in taste and flavour, 1st class Rs. 15, 2nd class Rs. 10 per seer. Expenses extra. Price strictly in advance. NOMANI & CO., No. 27, Shah Supan Street, Darbhanga.
T 18311

PURE HENNA—We are cultivators of largest fields of Henna and supplying leaves and powders, at very moderate rates. Orders for large or small quantity solicited. THE ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL CO., Fatehpuri, Delhi.
T R9283

GAIN YOUR OBJECT—By presenting a suit length (7½ yds. by 24 in.) of our Best Kashmir Donegal Tweeds of Soft Natural Wool for Rs. 12. Coat length (5 yds) Rs. 9. Very smart and respectable. Satisfaction sure. Black, Snuff or Khaki Putties Rs. 2/12/- per pair. Hand-picked pure Saffron Rs. 3 per tola. Packing and postage free from 24th December up to 1st January. KASHMIR SUPPLIES SYNDICATE, Srinagar.
T R9169

PRINTATOR.—The Mystic Writing Tablet for Office and Home. Your notes, having served their purpose, disappear at will and tablet is again ready for use. No refills. No eraser. PRINTATOR is a perpetual memo tablet. In 3 sizes Rs. 1/8, 1/4, 1 each. Traders apply for wholesale terms. A. HYLAND LTD., Hughes Road, Bombay. Sole Agents for India, Burma, and Ceylon.
18323

GLOBE'S TYPEWRITER BARGAINS:

	Rs.
Corona Folding New Improved, latest ...	207
Empire 1, Rs. 80, 100, Remington 8	100
Senta, Portable with Case (German)	100
Remington Portable, Almost New	165
Remington No. 11, Fiscap.	150
Oliver No. 3, 75, No. 9 Slightly-used	175
Multiplex Hammond Portable like new ...	185
Yost 20, latest Rs. 100, Gujerati Remington 9.	165

Ribbons, Carbon papers. Repairs to All Makes of Typewriters.
THE GLOBE TYPEWRITING CO.,
Cavendish St. Fort, Bombay.

TYPEWRITERS FOR SALE.—

	Rs.
Corona Folding, New, Improved Model	207
Corona Folding, No. 3, Rs. 90, 115, 150	175
Remington 7 Rs 75, 2 Cole, 85, 3, do.	75
Oliver 3 Rs 75, 90, 5, B. S., 125, 9	175
Oliver 5 American Rebuilt Rs 190, 9	225
Underwood 3 Brief Rs 115, 5, 140	185
Multiplex Hammond, 150, Yost 20, New Types	185
Mercedes, German, 2 Cols., Back Spacer	190
Remington 10, 150, 225, Brief, 160, 225	250
Remington 11, Rs 175, 225 ... Policy	200
Remington 10, Factory Rebuilt, as new	270
Marathi Remington 9, Rs 125 Gujerati	160

Ribbons, Carbons, Brushes, Pads, Papers, Reliable Repairs to all Typewriters.
NICOLLS AND CO., Typewriter Experts, Opp. Petit Institute, Hornby Road, Bombay. Telephone No. 1223.
T

LOST AND FOUND.

FOUND—On Chowpatty footpath B. B. 2nd Class Pass No. 6227. Owner to apply to "ALPHONSO" C/o "Bombay Chronicle."
PB R9355

PUBLIC NOTICES.

NOTICE.

STOCK TAKING—Our business will be CLOSED from the 28th instant to the 1st January, 1924, both days inclusive, on account of Annual Stock Taking. The ZANDER ORTHOPEDIC AND MEDICO ELECTRIC INSTITUTE will be working as usual, excepting Sunday. N. POWELL & CO., Bombay No. 4.

NOTICE.

OUR CUSTOMERS ARE HEREBY INFORMED that our Bill Collector Mr. R. KUMAR MEHTA is no longer in our service from 21st December, 1923 and are requested not to make any payments to him on our behalf.

SHALEBHOY TYEBJEE & SONS,
20, Bank Street, Fort, Bombay.
18468

GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.
(Incorporated in England.)

NOTICE.

IT IS HEREBY NOTIFIED that on and from 1st January, 1924, parcels tendered for despatch at Victoria Terminus, Bombay, must be accompanied by forwarding notes signed by, or on behalf of, the sender or senders, showing the weight and description of the contents of parcels, as also the name and address of the consignee. The name and address of the consignee on the parcels must be in English and must correspond with that shown on the forwarding notes.

2. Printed forwarding notes can be had, on application, from the Station Master or the Head Parcel Clerk, Victoria Terminus, Bombay.

A. E. TYLDEN-PATTENSON.
Ag. Chief Traffic Manager.
18428

PUBLIC NOTICES.

DWARKA.
"TEMPLE BRAND"
PORTLAND CEMENT

This cement has been recognised to be the best cement all over, being far above the British Standard Specification and is superior to other Indian Brands and imported cement. Regularly supplied to Government. The Superintendent, Government Test House, Alipore, has certified this cement to be best. Apply for further particulars and our Booklet to

THE DWARKA CEMENT COMPANY, LTD.,
2, Rampart Row, Fort, Bombay.

NOTICE.

WANTED—A SECRETARY with a wide experience of business for a big limited concern. Only first class men with previous experience and thorough knowledge of the working of big concerns should apply with testimonials. Salary according to qualification. Applications will be kept strictly confidential. Apply Box No. 9949, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Cronicle."
R9324

NOTICE OF REMOVAL.

THE ASIATIC PETROLEUM CO. (India) Ltd., announce that they will be moving their office to their own building on the 29th December, 1923. Their address from that date will be:—

THE ASIATIC PETROLEUM CO. (India) Ltd.,
St. Helen's Court,
40, Ballard Estate,
Post Box No. 193, Bombay.
18430

CRAFT FOR DISPOSAL AT BOMBAY

THE undernoted Government Craft at Bombay are available for immediate disposal:—

STEAM TUGS, PADDLE STEAMERS, BARGES.

For particulars apply to:—
MACKINNON MACKENZIE & CO.
Nicol Road, Post Box No. 123.
18313

THE BOMBAY GAS COMPANY, LTD.
(Incorporated in England.)

PRICE OF GAS.

THE DIRECTORS have much pleasure in announcing a decrease of As. 8 in the price of Gas per 1000 c. ft. from Rs. 6 to Rs. 5/8 for *lighting purposes only* as from the reading of meter indices at the end of December, 1923: so that these lower prices will be charged for gas consumed in January, 1924 and onwards.

The price for Bandra District will be Rs. 5/12.

BY ORDER.
Bombay, December, 1923.
C18471

AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR INVESTORS.

FOR SALE.

THE HINDUSTHAN PRESS with two Popular Papers the HINDUSTHAN DAILY and the HINDUSTHAN WEEKLY and with a large variety of English, Gujarati, and Marathi Types, Machinery in perfect working order including two Double Super Royal, one Double Royal, one Treadle, Cutting, Perforating and Stitching Machines, and a Casting Machine with Moulds and Mattresses.

There is a big Gujarati Job Department; also a Photo Zinco Department in perfect working condition. The Press is on the Lists of the Municipality, Improvement Trust, Railways and European and Indian Commercial firms. It is open to any reasonable offer.

For full particulars and inspection apply to or see Dr. AMRATLAL J. MEHTA, Liquidator, the Hindusthan, Ltd., (In Voluntary Liquidation), 12/16, Bank Street, Fort, Bombay.
C18508

THE BOMBAY MALABAR FOREST PRODUCE COMPANY, LTD.
(In Voluntary Liquidation)

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that a GENERAL MEETING of the Shareholders of the above named Company will be held at Morarbhai Building, 43, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay, on TUESDAY, the 8th January, 1924, at 4 p.m. (S. T.) to receive the Liquidator's Statement of Particulars with respect to the proceedings in and the position of the liquidation for the year ending 30th June, 1923.

Dated at Bombay, the 28th December, 1923.
(Sd.) H. D. JASSOOBHOY,
Liquidator.
The Bombay Malabar Forest Produce Company, Limited.
C18507

NOTICE.

IN THE MATTER OF THE INDIAN COMPANY'S ACT VII OF 1913.
and
IN THE MATTER OF THE HINDUSTAN TANNERIES, LTD.
(In voluntary liquidation.)

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that a FIRST DIVIDEND of Re. 1 (rupee one) per share (on those shares on which the application and allotment moneys have been paid in full) has been declared and is made payable on and after the 7th day of January 1924, at the office of the undersigned at 65, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay, between the hours of 2 p.m. and 5 p.m. (S.T.) on presenting the application and allotment receipts and letters and also the dividend warrants posted to the shareholders.

HAJI ESSA HAJI OSMAN
A.A. PEERBHOY
Joint Liquidators.
Bombay, dated the 22nd Dec., 1923.
C18478

LEGAL NOTICES.

NOTICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that Messrs. AHMED PIARALLY HUSEINBHOY PIARALLY and SHERBANOO, widow of Mahomedbhoy Piarally for and on behalf of Akbar-alli Mahomedbhai Piaralli, a minor, have contracted to sell the undermentioned property to our client. Any person having any claim or interest in or to the said property by way of sale, mortgage, trust, lien, possession, gift, inheritance, lease, or otherwise howsoever is hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at their office at Gresham Building, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay, and to the Collector of Municipal Rates and Taxes within 14 days from the date hereof, otherwise the sale will be completed without any regard to any such claim and the same, if any, will be considered as waived.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.

All those two pieces or parcels of land or ground now formed into one plot of the pension and tax tenure, situate at the junction of Dadar Kumbharwada and Tulsi Pipe Road in Bombay in the Registration Sub-District of Bombay, containing by admeasurement 15,600 square yards or thereabouts and registered in the books of the Collector of Land Revenue under Old No. 645, New No 4601, Old Survey No. Nil, and New Survey No. 1-2-3/1890 together with the dwelling house and all buildings standing thereon and bounded on the East partly by the property of Nicholas' Dias and partly a storm water channel, partly by the property belonging to vendors, and partly by the property of ignatius Gomes. On the West by public passage, on the North partly by the property of Nanu Narayan Kothare and partly by the property of Nicholas Dias and on the South partly by the property of Domingo Raphiel Rodrigues and by the property of Nanu Narayan Khotare and which premises are assessed under G Ward Nos. 3572, 3573, 3574, 3575 and Street Nos. 1034, 1035, 1036 and 1037.

Dated this 28th day of December, 1923.
MULLA AND MULLA,
Purchaser's Attorneys.
C18511

NOTICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN to the public that Mr. LALLUBHAI SHAMALDAS, of Bombay, Hindu Inhabitant, the Receiver appointed in the High Court Suit No. 3950 of 1922 wherein TRICULDAS PURSHOTAM is the Plaintiff and THE OFFICIAL ASSIGNEE and others are the Defendants, has contracted to sell to our client the undermentioned property with the consent of all the parties to the said suit by private sale in pursuance of the directions given in the Order, dated the 7th day of September, 1923, made in the said suit. All persons having any claim or interest into or upon the said property or any part thereof by way of sale, mortgage, gift, trust, inheritance, possession, lease, incumbrances, lien, charge, maintenance, easements, or otherwise howsoever are hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at their office at 10-16, Hammam Street, Fort, Bombay, within 14 days from the date hereof, after which date the sale will be completed without regard to any claim not so made known as aforesaid, and all claims, if any, not so made known will be considered as waived and void.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.

All that piece or parcel of land or ground together with the messuage tenement or dwelling house standing thereon, containing an area of 576 sq. yards or thereabouts situate on and being plot No. 50 A of the Gandevi Estate of the City Improvement Trust of Bombay in the City and island and Sub-Registration District of Bombay bearing new Survey No. 7335 and bounded on the northeast by land of the Board laid out as a service passage on the South east by Plot No. 51 of the said Estate leased to Dwarkadas Vussonji on the Southwest partly by Laburnum Road and partly by plot No 50 of the said estate leased to Anandrao Ramchandra Vinayak Ranjit and on the North-West partly by plot No. 50 of the said Estate and assessed by the Assessor and Collector of Municipal Rates and Taxes under D. Ward No. 2888 (2) and Street No. 33.

Dated this 28th day of December, 1923.
MOHILE PAREKH AND GANATRA.
Purchaser's Attorneys.
C18510

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT BOMBAY.

ORDINARY ORIGINAL CIVIL JURISDICTION.

Suit No. 434 of 1922.

THE TOYO MENKA KAISHA, LIMITED, (The Original Cotton Trading Company, Limited). ... Plaintiffs.
versus
Messrs. COWASJI FRAMJI and COMPANY and NARANDAS PURSHOTAM KAPADIA. ..... Defendants.

PURSUANT to the Decree Absolute for Sale made in the above suit and bearing date the 29th day of June, 1923, the following immoveable property will be sold by Public Auction by the Commissioner of this Hon'ble Court at his Office in the Court House on MONDAY, the 28th day of January, 1924, at the hour of five o'clock in the afternoon (Standard Time.)

PARTICULARS.

All that piece or parcel of Government Toka land or ground together with the two messuages tenements or buildings standing thereon situate, lying and being on the West side of Naigaum Road, without the Fort of Bombay, in the Registration Sub-District of Bombay, containing by admeasurement 14,462 (fourteen thousand four hundred and sixty-two) square yards or thereabouts and bearing Collector's Old No. 29, New No. 14558, Old Survey No. and New Survey No. 1 and 2/1189 and bounded on the East by Naigaum Road aforesaid, on the West partly by the property of Merwanji Rustomji and partly by the property of Framji Edulji Lentine, on the North partly by the property of Merwanji Rustomji and partly by the property of Jerbai, daughter of Andhiaroo Nowroji Furdoonji Vachha and on the South by the property of Framji Edulji Lentin and the buildings whereon are assessed by the Bombay Municipality under F Ward No. 6484 (1) and Street No. 51.

For further particulars and conditions of Sale application should be made at the Office of the said Commissioner or at the Office of Messrs. Payne and Co. Attorneys for the plaintiffs abovenamed at Mercantile Bank Building Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.

Dated this 1st day of December, 1923.
(Sd.) H. H. WADIA.
Commissioner.
C18501

LEGAL NOTICES.

NOTICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that Mr. HAJI AYOOB HAJI EBRAHIM TARSAIWALLA, of Bombay, Halai Memon Mahomedan Inhabitant, has contracted to sell absolutely to our client the property described in the Schedule hereunder written.

All persons having any claim thereto or any part thereof by way of mortgage, charge, gift inheritance, maintenance, survivorship, lease, lien, or otherwise howsoever are required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at their office at Cook's Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, within 14 days from the date hereof, otherwise the sale will be completed without reference to any such claim and the same, if any will be deemed to have been waived.

SCHEDULE.

All that piece or parcel of Foras land or ground now redeemed with the messuage tenements or dwelling house, standing thereon situate at Sankli Street, outside the Fort and in the Registration Sub-District of Bombay and assessed by the Collector of Land Revenue under Old No. 491, New No. A/13710, Old Survey No. 295 and New Survey No. 3A/3-50 and assessed by the Assessor and Collector of Municipal Rates and Taxes under E Ward Nos. 4055 and 3909 and Street Nos. 95 and 96 and Cadastral City Survey No. 1776 Byculla Division and containing by admeasurement 136 square yards or thereabouts and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the North East and West by the property of Premsukhdas Uderam and on or towards the South by the Sankli Street.

Dated this 27th day of December, 1923.
PATELL AND EZEKIEL,
Purchaser's Attorneys.
C18500

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT BOMBAY.

TESTAMENTARY AND INTESTATE JURISDICTION.

GEORGE V by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith Emperor of India.

Petition for Probate of the last Will and Testament of Bai MANIBAI, widow of Joshi Khimji Jamnadas, of Bombay, Brahmin Hindu Inhabitant. ..... Deceased,

JOSHI NAROTAM VELJI, of Bombay, Brahmin Hindu Inhabitant, doing business at Bazar Gate Street, within the Fort ..... Petitioner.

All persons claiming to have any interest in the Estate of the abovenamed deceased are hereby cited to come and see the Proceedings, if they think fit, before the Grant of Probate.

Witness Sir NORMAN CRANSTOUN MACLEOD Knight, Chief Justice at Bombay aforesaid this Fifteenth day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand Nine hundred and twenty-three and in the fourteenth year of our Reign.

Seal of the High Court at Bombay.

(Sd.) P. B MALABARI,
Registrar.
(Sd.) K. B. PATEL.

The 17th day of December, 1923.
Messrs. SHAH & CO.,
Petitioner's Attorneys.
C18500

AUCTION SALE.

SORABJEE COWASJEE & CO.

AUCTIONEERS & COMMISSION AGENTS.
123, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay.
Tel. No. 2736.

AUCTION SALE OF A VALUABLE IMMOVEABLE PROPERTY, SITUATE AT FRERE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

Messrs. SORABJEE COWASJEE and Co., Auctioneers, will under instructions from Messrs. Chitnis Kanga and Mazagonwalla, Attorneys for Mr. Tyeb Haji Ayub, the Mortgagee and on account and at the risk of Mr. Mahomed Nihaludin Khan, the Mortgagor, in pursuance of the power of sale reserved to the Mortgagee under an Indenture of Mortgage dated the 24th day of April 1922, sell by Public Auction, the undermentioned immoveable Property, on TUESDAY, the 8th day of January, 1923, at 4-30 p.m. (S.T.) at the premises:—

PARTICULARS OF PROPERTY.

All that piece or parcel of Leasehold land containing by admeasurement one hundred and ninety-seven and seven ninth square yards or thereabouts and registered by the Collector of Land Revenue under New Survey No. 8480 together with the messuages tenements or dwelling houses standing thereon assessed by the Municipality of Bombay under "A" Ward No. 1871 and Street Nos. 35-47 Frere Road and Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 Calicut Street and all which premises are situate at and on the eastern side of the Frere Road at Bombay in the Registration Sub-District of Bombay and are bounded on or towards the East by land belonging to the Municipality on or towards the West by Frere Road, on or towards the North by Calicut Street and on or towards the South by the land leased to Dossabhoy Pestonji Khambatta and which said premises were formerly in occupation of the tenants of the Shaikh Dadoo Shaikh Bundhaji and are now in that of the tenants of the Mortgagor.

Further particulars and conditions of sale can be obtained of Messrs. Chitnis Kanga and Mazagonwalla Attorneys for the Mortgagee at their office at 94, Medows Street, Fort or of the undersigned.

SORABJEE COWASJEE & CO.,
Auctioneers.
Bombay, 29th December, 1923.

MISTRY & CO.

AUCTIONEERS.
8/10, Ram Lane, Fort.
Telephone 5152.

BONA-FIDE SALE.

Under instructions from a Furniture Merchant closing his business MISTRY and Co. will sell TO-MORROW, at 3 p.m. (S.T.) Girgaum Road, Opp. Govindji Vasanji's Shop, household furniture consisting of oval dining table, chairs, sideboard, drawing room suite, corner cabinet, office writing table, office chairs, iron beds, mirror and panelled almirah, chival dressing mirror, dressing chest of drawers, teapoys soil linen basket, etc.

Property is on view.

MISTRY & CO.,
Auctioneers.
Bombay, 29th December, 1923.

AUCTION SALE.

CRAWFORD & CO.

Auctioneers and Commission Agents,
122 Apollo Street, Fort,
Telephone No. 521.

AUCTION SALE OF 1 CASE OF ART SILK GIUPURE LACE.

High Court Suit No. 3124 of 1923.
H. H. Tracealer Ltd. and another. Plaintiffs.
versus.
Ayoob Abubucker & Co., Millinery and Hosiery Merchants; Jackeria Masjid, Bombay ..... Defendants.

In accordance with the Decree passed against the abovementioned Defendants, Messrs. CRAWFORD AND CO., will sell by Public Auction on MONDAY, the 7th January 1924 at 3 p.m. (S.T.) at their rooms No. 122 Apollo Street, Fort, the following case of Giupure Lace on account and at the risk of the said defendants:—

1 Case art silk Giupure Lace containing about 32 boxes, each box about 12 pieces, each piece about 20 yards.

N. B.—A deposit of 50 per cent. will be required at the time of sale and the goods should be taken delivery of within two days from the date of sale after making payment in full.

AUCTION SALE of very valuable and artistic household furniture by well-known makers, English telescopic screw dining table, arm and armless chairs, chairs, sideboards, dumbwaiters, Chesterfield sofas and easy chairs, carpets, brass and iron beds crockery, glassware, rich platedware etc., etc.

Messrs. CRAWFORD and Co., will sell by Public Auction on SUNDAY, the 30th December, 1923, at 2-30 p.m. (S.T.) at Daver House, Opp. Empress Cinema, Lamington Road, very valuable and handsome made to order household furniture, rich glass and porcelainware, best platedware, English telescopic screw dining table arm and without arm chairs, sideboards, dumbwaiters and crockery stand, rich carpets, Electric fans and lamps drawing room suite, Chesterfield sofas and chairs, cabinets, ice box, writing tables, silver show case, glass door book cases, reclining sofas, mahoganized bed room furniture, single and double bedsteads mirror and plain almyrahs, dressing chest of drawers, dressing and wash hand tables, hat stands, Singer's Sewing Machine, perambulator, Milliner's safe, cane furniture, meat safe, aluminium utensils etc., etc.

The property of late Mr. H. F. Daver.
Furniture is on view.

A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO OWNERS OF PRINTING PRESS AND TO PAPER MERCHANTS.

AUCTION SALE of the insolvents' Paper shop and godown at Sutar Chawl and one Paper godown at Chira Bazar.

By the order of B. N Lang Esq., the Official Assignee of Bombay and Assignee of the Estate and effects of Ebrahim Mulla Abdul Housein and anr (Insolvents), Messrs. CRAWFORD & CO will sell by Public Auction on THURSDAY, the 3rd January 1924 at 3 p.m. (S.T.) the said insolvent's paper shop and godown at No. 30, Jamnadas Poonja's House, Sutar Chawl and on the same day at 3-30 p.m. (S.T.) the another paper godown at Morarji Velji's Chawl at Kolbhat Lane, Chira Bazar.

PARTICULARS OF THE SHOP AT SUTAR CHAWL.

One very big lot of tissue papers, art papers, bank papers, printing papers, rough papers, note papers, French papers, foolscap papers, tinted papers, cheque papers, black and coloured cloth covers, white silver papers, blotting papers, marble papers, copying papers, post cards, royal glazed papers, etc. etc., and one paper cutting press, cupboards, clock, Mehta boxes, etc., etc.

PARTICULARS OF THE GODOWN.

One big lot of glazed papers, crown papers, croft papers, royal papers, brown papers, rough papers, blotting papers, foolscap papers post cards, note papers etc., etc.

PARTICULARS OF THE GODOWN AT KOLBHAT LANE, CHIRA BAZAR.

About 180 bales of silver papers, croft papers, white Manila papers, brown papers, blotting papers, foolscap papers, etc., etc.

AUCTION SALE OF VALUABLE IMMOVEABLE PROPERTIES AT KALYAN.

Under instructions from B. N. Lang, Esq., the Official Assignee of Bombay and Assignee of the estate and effects of Sorabji Framji Kalyaniwalla, an insolvent, and with the consent of the Mortgagees, Messrs. CRAWFORD & CO., will sell by Public Auction on SUNDAY, the 6th day of January 1924 at 3 p.m. (S.T.) on the premises of the property described in Lot No. 1 Opp. Juma Masjid, Kalyan in one or different lots the right, title and interest of the insolvent and of the mortgagees in the undermentioned properties:—

PARTICULARS OF THE PROPERTIES.

I.

All that piece or parcel of land or ground with the messuage, tenement or dwelling house standing thereon situate lying and being at Kalyan in the Registration Sub-District of Kalyan Taluka Kalyan Zillah Thana, containing by admeasurement 226 square yards or thereabouts and registered in the books of the Collector under City Survey Nos. 151-152 and registered in the Books of the Kalyan Municipality for the purposes of assessment under Ali No. 8 house No. 4 and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the East by the house No. 153 belonging to the Mortgagor on or towards the West by the house No. 150 belonging to Bapuji Mehta on or towards the North by the Bunder Road and on or towards the South partly by a gully and partly by the Parsi Fire Temple and which premises are in the possession of the Mortgagor and his tenants.

II.

All that piece or parcel of land or ground with the messuage, tenement or dwelling house standing thereon situate lying and being at Kalyan in the registration Sub-District of Kalyan Taluka Kalyan Zillah Thana, containing by admeasurement 150 square yards or thereabouts and registered in the books of the Collector under City Survey No. 153 and registered in the books of the Kalyan Municipality for assessment under Ali No. 8 house No. 5 and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the East by the house No. 154 belonging to one Farid Mahomedan on or towards the West by the house No. 151-152 belonging to the Mortgagor on or towards the North by the Bunder Road and on or towards the South partly by a public lane and partly by Parsi Fire Temple and which premises are at present in the possession of the Mortgagor.

III.

All that piece or parcel of land or ground with the messuages, tenements or dwelling houses standing thereon situate lying and being at Kalyan in the Registration Sub-District of Kalyan, Taluka Kalyan, Zillah Thana, containing by admeasurement 405 square yards or thereabouts and registered in the books of the Collector under City Survey No. 183 and registered in the books of the Kalyan Municipality for the purposes of assessment under Ali No. 9 house No. 16 and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the East partly by open space and partly by piece Mill of Prahlad Jagjiwan on or towards the West by house No. 84 of the Mortgagor on or towards the North by the Parsi Fire Temple and on or the towards South by the public lane or gully and which premises are at present in the possession of the Mortgagor and his tenant.

IV

All that piece or parcel of land or ground with the messuage tenement or dwelling house standing thereon situate lying and being at Kalyan in the registration Sub-District of Kalyan Taluka Kalyan Zillah Thana, containing by admeasurement 226 sq. yards or thereabouts and registered in the books of the Collector under City Survey No. 134 and registered in the books of Kalyan Municipality for the purposes of assessment under Ali No. 9 house No. 17 and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the East by house No. 132 of the Mortgagor on or towards the West by the house of Parsi Anjuman Dastur Darasha on or towards the North by the Parsi Fire Temple on or towards the South by the public lane and which premises are in the possession of the Mortgagor and his tenants.

V.

All that piece or parcel of land or ground together with the messuage tenement or dwelling house standing thereon situate lying and being at Kalyan in the registration Sub-District of Kalyan Taluka Kalyan Zillah Thana containing by admeasurement 1000 square yards or thereabouts and registered in the books of the Collector under City Survey No. 3190 and registered in the books of the Kalyan Municipality for the purpose of assessment under Ali No. 40 house Nos. 21, 22, 23 (Kitchen depot and stables) and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the East by Saraswatibai Pathare's open space on or towards the West by the Public Road on or towards the North by a lane on or towards the South by a lane and which premises are at present in the possession of the tenants of the Mortgagor.

VI

All that piece or parcel of land or ground with the messuage tenement or dwelling house standing thereon situate lying and being at Kalyan in the registration sub-district of Kalyan Taluka Kalyan, Zillah Thana containing by admeasurement 104 square yards or thereabouts and registered in the books of the Collector under the City Survey No. 176 and registered in the books of the Kalyan Municipality for the purposes of assessment under Ali No. 9 house No. 51 and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the East by the house No. 175 of Jamshedji Ratanji Daver, on or towards the West by the house of Arital Wadi on or towards the North by the Public Lane on or towards the South by open space and which premises are now in the possession of the tenants of the Mortgagor.

VII.

All that piece or parcel of land or ground with the messuage tenement and dwelling house standing thereon situate lying and being at Kalyan in the registration Sub-District of Kalyan Taluka Kalyan Zillah Thana containing by admeasurement 101 square yards or thereabouts and registered in the books of the Collector under the City Survey No 102 and registered in the books of the Kalyan Municipality for the purposes of assessment under Ali No. 11 house No. 3 and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the East by the Public Road on or towards the West by a gali on or towards the North by a gali and the house of Taiki Mahomedan on or towards the South by the Bunder Road and which premises are now in the possession of the Mortgagor.

VIII.

All that piece or parcel of land or ground with the messuage tenement and dwelling house standing thereon situate lying and being at Kalyan in the registration Sub-District of Kalyan Taluka Kalyan Zillah Thana containing by admeasurement 1000 square yards or thereabouts and registered in the books of the Collector under the City Survey No. 190 and registered in the books of the Kalyan Municipality for the purposes of assessment under Ali No. 9 house No. 38 and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the East by Mahomedan Madrea on or towards the West by the Public Road on or towards the North by a lane on or towards the South by a lane and which premises are at present in the possession of the tenants of the Mortgagor.

IX

All that piece or parcel of land or ground with the messuage tenement and dwelling house standing thereon situate lying and being at Kalyan in the registration Sub-District of Kalyan, Taluk Kalyan, Zillah Thana containing by admeasurement 40,000 square yards or thereabouts and registered in the books of the Collector under the City Survey No. 19 and registered in the books of the Kalyan Municipality for the purpose of assessment under Ali No. 50 house Nos. 36 and 37 and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the East by Agra Road on or towards the West by Bhoiwada Road on or towards the North by Cemetery Hill of Lulaiya on or towards the South by Bunder and Station Road and which premises are now in the possession of the Mortgagor.

X

All that piece or parcel of land or ground with the bungalow messuage tenement and dwelling houses, garages, wells, etc., standing thereon situate lying and being in the registration Sub-District of Kalyan Taluka, Kalyan Mauje—Shahar Zillah Thana containing by admeasurement ten acres, thirty five gunthas and registered in the books of the Collector under the Entry No. 598 and Survey No. 169 and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the East by the properties of Dhond and Pathare Waldhari on or towards the West by the Badlapur Waldhari river on or towards the North by the Badlapur Waldhari River on or towards the South by the Badiapur Road and which premises are in the possession of the tenants of the Mortgagor.

For further particulars and conditions of sale apply to Messrs. Patell and Ezekiel, Attorneys for the Official Assignee at Cook's Buildings Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay or the undersigned.

Dated this day of November 1923.

CRAWFORD AND CO.,
Auctioneers.

Bombay, 29th December, 1923.

ASTHMA

RADICAL SURE CURE.

OF 26 YEARS' FAME ALL OVER THE WORLD.

Letter No. of the Firm 21637.

Hyderabad Deccan.

To,

MESSRS. K.P. RAY & J.P.RAY BROS.
Dept. No. 5, Benares City.

Dear Sirs,

Your wonderful specific for Asthma was brought from you by the request of JUSTICE Aziz Mirza, HIGH COURT JUDGE of H.H. the Nizam's Government. The medicine was applied to the Justice's son and he was glad that no more relapse has been seen up to this time. Justice Aziz Mirza wants me to write to you about this. You may make use of this letter to make the public know that your medicine for Asthma works like CHARMS to the patients.

Yours faithfully,

KALI CH. CHATTERJI, F.R.A.S.,
F.R.H.S., F.R.C.F. (LONDON).

10-12-1914.

Note:—Testimonials are sent free. Full amount is to be refunded if radical cure is not effected.

(8)

AMUSEMENTS.

TO-NIGHT! TO-NIGHT!!

Saturday 29th Dec. 1923 at 9-30 P.M.

GRAND OPENING NIGHT

KARLEKAR'S GRAND CIRCUS.

THE ONLY HUGE COMBINED SHOW TOURING IN THE EAST.

Prof. SHANKER RAO presents

EXTRA ORDINARY EXPENSIVE ENGAGEMENT of ELMO and ELMA

THE STRONGEST MAN AND WOMAN IN THE WORLD.

Konstante and Anna Smith will perform New and Novel Amazing of Strength, the famous Record.

The Renowned Wirth family, Daring and Novel Acts on Trapeze, Dancers and Funny Clowns.

BENGAL TRIO AND MISS COOK FAMOUS EQUESTRIANS

TWO SISTERS MISSES NANI AND ROSI HIGH WIRE ARTISTS.

Two Rose Buds, Juvenile Contortionists.

DARE-DEVIL KANARAN BOUNDING ROPE ACT CHAMPION.

Veret the Contortionists. A Thrill from Start to Finish.

The Great Kanary troupe, famous acrobats Stars of India's Arenas.

MALABAR TRIO the most dangerous feats on Horizontal Bars.

NARAN TROUPE—Equilibrists and Rizly Acrobats.

ANIE WITH HIS EDUCATIONAL DOG MASCOT.

Funny Clowns:—Carl, Peters and Udu

FUN FOR THE LITTLE ONES, AS WELL AS PLEASING TO THE ELDERS.
AMUSING IN THE EXTREME.
The Trained Wild Animal-Exhibit by—

THE LION KING—PROFESSOR SHANKER RAO

with his Assistants Kera and Kondia. Marvellous Performances and many New astonishing novelties. You Should See this Great Show and get the greatest Return for your money.

MATINEES FROM SUNDAY 30th DECEMBER, AT 5 P. M.

—THE BIGGEST EVENT OF THE SEASON—

Breaking Crowd Records Everywhere

A High Class Entertainment.

Not A Cheap Show—We Give A Good Show Cheap.

BOX PLAN AT S. ROSE & CO., LTD.

Popular Prices including the Amusement Stamps.

Box Single	5—10—0	2nd Class	2—4—0
Circle	4—8—0	Carpet Gallery	1—2—0
1st Class	3—6—0	Gallery	0—9—0

Prof. SHANKER RAO, Sole Proprietor. M. J. RATNAM, Business Manager.

NOVELTY CINEMA

TO-NIGHT THIS WEEK!

A beautiful King Victor Production

"DUSK TO DAWN"

One life in America—another in India!!

A SPECIAL NEW YEAR PICTURE!

When one girl, at dusk, closes her eyes in sleep life leaves her body and enters the body of another, who is awaking at dawn.

Thus, from dusk to dawn, one soul shuttles back and forth, expressing itself on one side of the world, in the personality of Marjorie Latham, a Governor's daughter, and Aziza, a beggar dancing girl on the other side of the world.

Starring the exquisitely beautiful and the unforgettable Star,

FLORENCE VIDOR

IN

"DUSK TO DAWN"

5 Reels—5,000 feet—

THE STRANGE ROMANCE OF A TWIN LIFE!

Prison bars could not keep her soul from seeking its affinity!

Could anything free her from that strange other life she led from dusk to dawn?

See and be Amazed and Surprised!

"DUSK TO DAWN"

Do some of the things which we dream really happen, or is it merely sub-conscious imagination? Is it possible for two persons to exist in this world with but one soul? If so, what would be the result at the death of one of them? Can we live another life in our dreams? See.

"DUSK TO DAWN"

A Cartoon and a two Reel Comedy in the Programme.

To-Night—3-30, 5-15, 7, 8-45 and 10-30 p. m. (S. T.)

NOVELTY CINEMA

(GRANT ROAD, TRAM TERMINUS.)

IMPERIAL

presents

To-Night and during this week

Last Instalment of

MADAN SUPER INDIAN SERIAL

"PATNI PARTAP"

featuring

Miss Patience Cooper

Its a picture which every Hindoo family should positively see, includes programme.

Pathe Gazette and selected Comic

Coming Next Week

Kohinoor Super Production full of Thrill! Stunts! Romance!

"KALA-NAG"

A thrilling plot revealing various styles of treacherous fraud of the modern civilization and dreadful assassination for the ardent desire of wealth or passions and Rape and ravishment by atrocious villains. Watch for further announcements.

Daily 5-15, 7, 8-45 & 10-30 p. m. Saturday & Sunday extra shows at 3-30 p. m.

ALWAYS A GOOD SHOW

Yashwant Natak Mandali

Saturday 29-12-1923 at Night 9 p. m.

Soubhadra.

Sunday 30-12-1923 at 3-30 Noon

Mrachha-Katik.

Monday 31-12-1923 at 3-30 Noon

Chalati-Duniya.

(In Hindi Language)

Tuesday 1-1-1924 at 3-30 Noon

Soubhadra.

Director :—SHANKAR RAO SIRNAIK
Manager :—K. S. HARDIKAR.

AMUSEMENTS.

THE PICTURE SENSATION OF THE YEAR

A UNIVERSAL WONDER FILM THAT ASTOUNDED EUROPE AND TURNED AMERICA UPSIDE DOWN!

A NEW YEAR OFFERING

AT THE

West-End Cinema

(New Churney Road.)

TODAY SATURDAY AND DURING THE WEEK.

THE MOST STUPENDOUS LOVE DRAMA EVER TOLD.

"MERRY GO ROUND"

10 Reels—10,000 FEET

A UNIVERSAL SUPER JEWEL

A ONE-WEEK PICTURE!

SEE THE TWO-HOURS PHOTO-DRAMA COMPLETE

This is the glorious, glittering spectacle of life in Vienna that took New York's Broadway by storm. It's a scintillating, vivid, gripping story of the riotous revelry and lavish luxury of an emperor's court, the fantastic whirl of life, love and laughter that swept everything before it and drew such tremendous crowds that following three big weeks at two of Broadway's largest picture theatres, it was booked for an indefinite run at one of the largest legitimate theatres in the very heart of New York's theatre district.

"MERRY GO ROUND"

Never before has a picture been produced that compares with this magnificent picturization of the glittering glory of an emperor's court. With a background of the mad revelry, the scintillating fantastic whirl of life, love and ambition in the gayest city in the world, Vienna, is told the most exotic, the most poignant of love stories. See this great picturization of the love, laughter and tears behind the scenes of the most voluptuous existence ever established.

Starring

MARY PHILBIN

and

NORMAN KERRY

"MERRY GO ROUND"

This is your opportunity to see this Great production. The greatest love story ever told. You've never seen a picture like this—it's a picture that you will never forget!

You are requested to be in your seats five minutes before time; it's a two hour programme.

Timings: 3-15, 5-15, 7, 8-45 and 10-30 p.m. (S.T.)

STARTING TO-DAY SATURDAY

WEST-END CINEMA

(NEW CHURNEY ROAD).

Excelsior Theatre

DAILY AT 6 AND 9-30 p. m.

"ORPHANS OF THE STORM"

With Lillian and Dorothy Gish.

Empire Theatre

Sat. 29th Dec. at 4-30, 6-30 8-15 & 10 p. m.

The famous "Vamp" THEDA BARA in

"SALOME"

Empress Theatre

Sat. 29th Dec. at 3, 4-30, 6-30, 8-15 & 10.

RUDOLPH VALENTINO IN

"THE SHEIK"

CINEMA MAJESTIC

GIRGAUM

PRESENTS

TO-DAY AND DURING THIS WEEK

VANRAJ CHAVDO

The thrilling story of the early life of Vanraj who through his own efforts won back the throne of his father Jayshikhar from the hands of the King Bhuvad of Kanoj.

PRODUCED BY THE

National Film Co.

NEXT WEEK

Another "Star" masterpiece

CHANDRAGUPTA

an interesting episode from the ancient history of India, produced by

OF

STAR FILMS Ltd.

"Champraj Hado" fame.

DON'T MISS IT!

Under the Patronage of the Gaikwar of Baroda

Gandharv Natak Mandali

GRANT ROAD

NEW ELPHINSTONE THEATRE

SATURDAY 29-12-23 at 8-30 p. m.

NEW PLAY! NEW PLAY!!

Asha-Nirasha.

SUNDAY 30-12-23 at 3 p.m.

Muk-Nayak.

ON TUESDAY 1-1-24

Specially on account of Holiday at 3 p.m.

Swayamvar.

Now On

BIG SHOW. BIG SHOW.

CIRCUS.

GRANT ROAD

Govalia Tank.

ANYTHING ELECTRICAL & ALLIED

We give you
Or get for you
Or it is not made.

RADIO APPARATUS IN STOCK.

Eastern Electric & Trading Co.

Camp KARACHI.
Bombay—Lahore—Amritsar.
Telegrams:—"ELECTRIC," Karachi.

"MESMERISM & HYPNOTISM"

Complete course, Price, Rs. 1/8 only. Foreign 2sh. 6d. Published in simple English. Mr. Rati Kanta Bhomick, Headmaster writes from Senhati, Khulna District. "I have become a successful Hypnotist with the help of your book. The methods are far easier and simpler than any other courses with marked difference. Apply to:—The EASTERN HYPNOTIC HOME, Vizagapatam.

BOMBAY CITY AND SUBURBS.

Engagements.

TO-DAY.

S. S. "Dongola", with English Mails leaves at 2 p.m.

English mail steamer Morea due at 6 a.m.
Bombay Races: Fifth Extra Meeting.

MONDAY, December 31.
Banks closed: New Year's Eve.

TUESDAY, January 1.
Banks closed: New Year Day.

WEDNESDAY, January 2.
Reception at Government House, 9-45 p.m.

THURSDAY, January 3.
Municipal Corporation, 3-40 p.m.

SUNRISE AND SUNSET.

Dec 29 (Sat) Sunrise 7h. 11m.; Sunset 6h. 14m
Dec 30 (Sun) Sunrise 7h. 11m; Sunset 6h. 13m
Dec. 31 (Mon.) Sunrise 7h. 11m. Sunset 6h. 13m
Jan. 1 (Tues.) Sunrise 7h. 12m. Sunset 6h. 12m.
Jan. 2 (Wed.) Sunrise 7h. 12m. Sunset 6h. 13m.
Jan. 3 (Thur.) Sunrise 7h. 13m. Sunset 6h. 13m.

STEAMER MOVEMENT.

The B. I. s. s. "Margha" which left Bombay on the 14th instant arrived at Port Said at 5-30 p.m. on the 26th idem and left there at 3-15 a.m. the following day.

ASSAGAO UNION.

On Monday, the 31st instant, the Assagao Union will be inaugurated at the Instituto Luso-Indiano Hall, Dabul. There will be a social gathering from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. to which all Assagonenses are invited.

POSTAL NOTICE.

Mails for Singapore and Japan per s. s. "Andes Maru" will be closed at the General Post Office at 6-30 p.m. to-day (Saturday) instead of 11 a.m. on Sunday, the 30th instant, as advertised.

Superscribed mails for Singapore and Japan per s.s. "Andes Maru" will be closed at the General Post Office at 11 a.m. on Sunday the 30th instant.

INSTITUTO LUSO-INDIANO.

There will be a dance in the Institute Hall on Monday (the 31st instant) at 9 p.m. for members only. Admission tickets are available at the Institute.

"FATAL KITE FLYING."

In our issue of yesterday (Friday) under the head "Fatal Kite Flying" it should be read "Pratap Natavarlal" and not "Pratap Mathuralal" as published.

WIDOW MARRIAGE ASSOCIATION.

The next monthly meeting will be held at Dr. Prabhaker Pange's residence, 13A, Panalal Terraces, Grant Road, Bombay, to-morrow (Sunday) at 3 p.m. Separate seats for ladies and refreshments are arranged.

ARYA SAMAJ OFFICE.

A public meeting will be held at the Arya Samaj Hall, Kakadwadi, Girgaon, Bombay, to-morrow (Sunday) at 6 p.m. (B. T.), when Shriman Swami Omkar Sachidanandji will deliver a lecture on "Aryan's duty to the Arya Dharma Parishad."

THE ALL-INDIA ISRAELITE LEAGUE.

The sixth annual sessions of the All-India Israelite League will be held at the Israelite School Hall, Mazgaon, Bombay, on the 30th and 31st instant. The proceedings commence at 3-30 p.m. (S. T.) on the first day and 2 p.m. on the second day. All Bene-Israel ladies and gentlemen are cordially invited to attend.

ANJUMAN ZIAUL ISLAM.

The Anjuman Ziaul Islam of Bombay in a meeting held on the 24th instant, under the presidentship of Shaikh Khalid Yusal, passed resolutions expressing gratitude to the Governor for appointing two Muslim Ministers to His Excellency's Council; and congratulating the Hon. Khan Bahadur Gulam Husein Hydaitulla and the Hon. Mr. Ali Mahomed Khan Dehlavi, Bar.-at-Law, on their appointments.

A BARODA WEDDING.

A Baroda message states:—The engagement is announced of Miss Hansa Mehta, daughter of Sir Manubhai N. Mehta, Dewan of Baroda, with Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta M.D., Chief Medical Officer of the Barod State. The wedding is to take place at Baroda on Thursday the 3rd January 1924 at Sir Manubhai's residence at Baroda.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

The proprietors of Messrs. S. Benson and Co., Ophthalmic Opticians of 175/77, Hornby Road, Bombay, have sent us their calendars and show-cards for 1924, which are attractive.

A table calendar for 1924 from the Commercial Printing Press, of the Tata Publicity Corporation.

INDIAN MUSIC IN VICTORIA GARDENS.

A concert of Indian music will be given in the Victoria Gardens to-morrow (Sunday) from 4-30 p.m. (S. T.) to 6-15 p.m. (S. T.) by the Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya, Bombay. A limited number of seats can be provided of which the first row will be reserved for ladies only so that the male visitors are requested not to occupy them. Gentlemen accompanied by ladies of their families will be allowed to occupy the second row and the third row will be for gentlemen only.

AN AYURVEDIC PHYSICIAN.

Pandit Thakur Dattaji Sharma, of Amritdhara fame, has come to Bombay on a short visit from Lahore and he can be consulted at the Sirdar Griha Hotel from 9 to 11 a.m. The Pandit is not only a great physician, but is the editor of three medical journals and author of many valuable medical books. He is a specialist in sex and nervous diseases. His well-known Ayurvedic medicines have effected cures of diseases which doctors had given up as hopeless. He is also an effective lecturer on health and hygiene.

ANAND ASHRAM, CHUNAR.

The annual general meeting of the "Anand Ashram", Chunar, was held on the 23rd instant at Pandit Raja Ram's bungalow. All the officials and the local leading raises were present. The report of the Ashram was read and the good work done in its four departments (Seva Sadan, Ganshala, Brahmcharipitha and Banprasthapith) was appreciated. On an appeal for a reserve fund, a sum of Rs. 1,000 was promised on the spot.

RACING EXPERT'S

RESULTS for the 4th Extra Meeting.

5 WINS 5
12 PLACES 12

See him to-day after 11 a.m. at CENTURY BUILDING, (3rd floor), 321, HORNBY ROAD.

SCIENTIFIC RACE TIPS

Our last selection included wins:—Grey Renard, Moonshiner, Belvedere, Kooleb. Places:—Lady Loo, Blackwater, Margaret Joyce, Bakhtavar etc.

Tips can be had from:—
BUMBY CHAMBER OF ASTROLOGY.
Darya Mahal, Kalbadevi Road, BOMBAY.

BOMBAY CITY KHILAFAT COMMITTEE.

The Secretary of the Bombay City Khilafat Committee writes:—"We regret to announce that the resignations of Seth M. M. H. J. M. Chhotani, Mr. A. H. S. Khatri and Seth Abdurrahman H. M. Abba from their offices of Presidentship, Hon. General Secretaryship and Chief Treasurership respectively of the City Khilafat Committee of Bombay owing to their urgent private reasons, have been received in this office which will be placed before the next meeting of the City Khilafat Committee for consideration."

GANDHARVA MAHA VIDYALAYA.

The two benefit-concerts which were arranged for the help of this Vidyalaya on the 23rd and 24th instant, resulted in collecting a handsome sum of Rs. 725 which sum will be spent towards the boarding expenses. All the students and non-students who took part in these concerts deserve the warmest congratulations.

All classes will remain closed till the 10th of January on account of X'mas holidays. The Gita-Pravhan and prayer-meeting are going on as usual.

SRI SRINGERI JAGADGURU SAUNSTHANAM.

Mr. N. Shastry, Agent to Sri Sringeri Jagadguru Saunsthanam, appeals to the generous-minded and religious Hindus to contribute towards the fund raised by His Holiness for the erection of an Agraharam that was washed away during the recent floods of the Tunga. The Agraharam was situated within the Sringeri Jehagir and maintained families of Brahmins who looked after the temples of Sri Gopalkrishna and Sri Gangadhareshwar. To re-house the Brahmins it is estimated that at least Rs. 12,000 will be required. All remittances should be kindly addressed to the Deputy Amildar, Sringeri Jehagir, Sringeri.

MAKARSANKRANTI HOLIDAY AND KHADI GIFT.

The Gujarat Prantik Samiti Khadi Bhandar says in an appeal to Hindu sisters and brothers on the ensuing Makarsankranti (14th January, 1914), and is signed among others by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Member-in-charge, A. I. C. Khadi Department, Sjt. Laxmidas Rowjee Tairsee, Sjt. Bharucha, Sjt. N. H. Belgaumwala requesting them to give to the poor, on the Makarsankrati holiday, hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar only, which will, they submit, kill two birds with one stone. They fervently hope this appeal will bear fruit. The Bhandar has on stock shawls, dhoties webs of course and fine Khadi, etc. The address of the Bhandar is 67-68, Krishna Lane Morarji Goculdas Market, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, and (2) Astodia, Olliphant Road, Ahmedabad.

PASSENGERS' LIST.

The following is the list of passengers by the P. and O. s. s. "Dongola" leaving Bombay today, connecting at Aden with the s. s. "Mongolia", for Marseilles and London:—

Mr Alexander Mr H H Bentley, Mr O R Coales, Sister A E Dawson, Mrs Dubern, Mr H Mahomed Farook, Mr G E Faweus, Mrs J N Fenton and infant, Miss R Fields, Major F W C Griffin, Mrs (Snr) Govindaraju, Mr and Mrs Govindaraju and child, Mr C M Ghareekhar, Mr M A H Hoffman, Lt-Col Hutchinson, Mr A A Johnston, Master M D Khargat, Miss E M Khargat, Mr L B Kulkarni, Mr Wali Mahomed, Miss M L Martin, Mr E B Martin, Dr A Mistowski, Capt E L Murphy, Mr K Mel Kemp, Mr Patel, Mr V N and Mrs Paradkar and child, Mr T H and Mrs Raysmith, Mr Rozendaal, Mr A Rosenti, Mr T R Shah, Mr Sukharamaram, Mr Sostri, Mrs P K Tarapore and Miss, Mrs L Weir, and Mr Wright.

CORONERS COURT.

DEATH FROM BURNS.

On Wednesday night Rukhmanibai (22) residing at Butcher's Island, was taking her meals when her two year old child while playing near by kicked a lamp. The lamp fell on Rukhmani's 'sari' and caught fire and in a few minutes she was extensively burnt. She was brought to Bombay and removed to J. J. Hospital where she died on Thursday night. At the Coroner's inquest the jury returned a verdict of accidental death.

A CASE OF SUICIDE.

On Friday at about 2-30 a.m. a police naik No. 605-A whilst on his rounds passing by the old wooden police chowki at the junction of Cruickshank Road and Waudby Road noticed that the door was fastened from inside. In peeping through a broken glass pane he noticed a man hanging near the window on a bracket. The naik informed Sergeant Watson at the Esplanade Police Station who went to the chowki and broke the door open in presence of a panch. They found a body hanging tied with a dhoti. Life was extinct. Two chits were found written in Tamil in the pocket of the person, one addressed from Rama Gopal to the painter which said that he was disgraced, that he would pay Rs. 26 due through the painter who should take back his box and other things. The other chit told the teacher that Rs. 26 would be paid on receipt of pay and that he should not think that the writer would run away with the money. It further stated that the times were hard. Both the chits were signed by Rama Gopal.

The Coroner held an inquest on the body when the jury returned a verdict of suicide.

A SUSPICIOUS DEATH.

The Coroner concluded inquest on Friday touching the death of a Hindu aged about 30 whose body was found lying at Dhobi Ghat near Arthur Road on the morning of the 12th instant with his throat cut and intestines protruding from a wound on the stomach.

The police surgeon who made the post mortem examination was of opinion that the wounds were not self-inflicted.

Inspector Dawoodkhan of the DeLisle Road Police Station said that enquiries had been made with a view to tracing the relatives or friends of the deceased and the perpetrators of the crime but no information could be obtained.

The jury returned a verdict of death from wounds on the throat and abdomen inflicted apparently with a sharp cutting instrument by a person who had not been traced.

POLICE RAID ON BUCKET SHOP.

Mr. P. A. Kelly, the Commissioner of Police assisted by two other police officers raided a bucket shop near Grant Road Corner and arrested K. K. Kasam and seven others alleged to be his accomplices for receiving bets on various horses of the Bombay Races from several of their customers. A panch was called and several articles of betting, such as books, slips and cards were then taken possession of by the police. The accused were placed before Mr. P. L. Thakkar, Additional Presidency Magistrate for keeping a gambling house and were released on bail.

JACOB SASSOON MILL.

STRIKERS PAID OFF.

The weavers of the Jacob Sassoon Mill having been paid off on Thursday, the strike came to a close automatically with effect from that date. The management in a notice posted on the mill gate have intimated that the weaving department would be closed till January. No fixed date of opening has yet been announced.

MATUNGA WORKSHOP.

The Matunga Workshops lock out still continues but it is hoped that in the next week, soon after the New Year, some definite announcement would be made by the Agent in regard to the opening of the workshops again.

BORSAD SATYAGRAH.

SHOP-KEEPERS' STAND.

MAHAJANS RESOLVE NOT TO PAY.

OPPORTUNITY FOR VILLAGE ORGANISATION.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

BORSAD, Dec. 25.

The conviction is growing strongly upon the minds of the workers and leaders in Borsad that if the people abide strictly by the injunctions of the Satyagrah leaders and observe strict non-violence, the struggle is bound to end in their favour. The efforts of the workers are directed towards training the people to the habit of remaining cool and collected under the most provoking circumstances. A flood of literature is poured into the villages every morning. Almost every day the Satyagrah Camp of Borsad issues two bulletins, one a printed one bearing the signature of Mr. Gopaldas, the President of the Satyagrah Committee and the other signed by the Secretary of the Committee, copies of which are turned out on a roneo machine. Reports are received even from the most distant villages of the Taluka, that the bulletins are sedulously followed by the village folk, who gather on the *chora* in the morning to listen to the instructions from Borsad. I have myself observed the interest and enthusiasm with which the Patrikas are scanned by the inhabitants of Borsad town. Had this not been the case the illiterate dacoit, to whose letter I referred in my last report, would not have been led to address a letter to "Sawarajwaras" and pour out his pent-up feelings before a class of workers who, he must have been convinced, though unsympathetic to the avocation he was following, were devoid of kindness and pity.

NON-VIOLENCE, THE FIRST ESSENTIAL.

The efforts of the workers are, as the situation demands, concentrated on non-violence and in this no-one is a sounder adviser than Mahatmaji. The people must be put on the track of sobriety, industry and general purification if the object of their observing strict non-violence is to be achieved. He suggested, therfore, that people wishing to undertake the arduous struggle of passive resistance must take to the charkha, give up drunkenness, get rid of untouchability and strengthen the bonds between the Hindus and Mahomedans. Borsad has quite a fair population of Mahomedans who are wholeheartedly with their Hindu brethren in the struggle. A proof of this was given yesterday when at a meeting of the shopkeepers of Borsad resolutions were unanimously adopted suggesting the best ways of baffling the efforts of the Police Officers bent upon attacking their property. It was decided at the meeting which was attended by about 300 residents of Borsad most of whom were shopkeepers, to keep their shops closed till the 5th of January when the decision is to be re-considered. This measure has been suggested by the Durbar-Saheb and Mr. Pandye, after mature deliberation, lest the people of outlying villages should be put to any inconvenience in their marketing. It has also been decided that two shops of general requirements such as cloth and corn should be kept open. Vegetable dealers and milkmen have been advised to carry on their trade since in most of the cases, articles have already been attached. A committee of four leading merchants with powers to co-opt, has been formed to carry out the resolutions.

VICTORY IN THE STRUGGLE.

A moral victory in the struggle will be achieved even if the officers succeed in attaching property from all the houses in Borsad which seems to me impossible. The training which the people will acquire in resisting an unjust tax without being provoked into violence will be a decided gain. But there is another aspect of the struggle which can be ignored only by those who will not recognise the truth of it. "The tax is unjust and the tax is oppressive," says public opinion, "How best to resist it" is the next question. If the tax is unjust and oppressive they must not pay it—is the advice a Satyagrahi leader offers the people. "What should be done if the Government officers try to secure the amount, if not in cash, in property?"

The people are asked to take every precaution to guard their property by closing or locking their doors at the approach of officials or police; and wonderfully well has this device succeeded. The Police and the officials have been desperately trying to finish their work in Borsad for the last 4 days. They have succeeded in covering hardly fifty to sixty houses. Borsad has a population of 13,000 and it can be imagined how hopeless is becoming the task of the officials most of whom, I have no doubt, sympathise with the people in their stand.

A DIFFICULT TASK.

As information of the tricks arranged by the Bohra merchants and clever shopkeepers circulates among the village folk the *Zabti* work is getting more and more difficult, and pleasant to observers. I was told of a house-owner who applied greasy ointment to his lock suspecting that it would be broken open. A Police Officer tried hard to strike at the lock but the instrument kept slipping away. Thus the attempts of the officers were defeated by a Bania resident. But at certain places where the *Zabti* officers succeeded in getting into houses they carried away in attachment very valuable articles such as gold and silver ornaments from trunks and boxes and there have been cases where the wearers were relieved of their gold rings and buttons. I must here relate the fearless example set by the Police Patel of Borsad Mr. Govindbhai Ashabhai. Not only did he refuse to co-operate with the Police in the attachment business but he point-blank declined to pay the tax. The Mamlatdar and some other officers went to the shop run in the name of his father Mr. Ashabhai. Mr. Govindbhai was present in the shop which contained property worth over Rs. 10,000. The Mamlatdar advanced towards Mr. Govindbhai to remove the ring from his finger. As it could not be taken off he proceeded to relieve him of his buttons. In the meanwhile, Mr. Govindbhai gave the Mamlatdar to understand that he was not empowered to touch things on his person. Argument and counter-argument went on for half an hour with the result that the officials had to yield and Mr. Govindbhai returned possession of his ring and buttons. Zabtis are in full swing in Sunav, Palej, Bodal, Naman, Navali, Kasari, Amban and some other places. Reports are being received from some more villages where the Patels and Ravanies, by their refusal to participate in the attachment work, have put the officers to considerable inconvenience.

AN INTERESTING FEATURE.

BORSAD, Dec. 26.

An interesting feature of the movement is to be seen in several villages is that the Panch and the Mahajans have resolved that those who would pay the police Tax, as also those who would purchase articles obtained in *Zabti*, will have to pay a fine of Rs. 51. This decision has already been put into practice at several places and I know of the suggestion made by a prominent Patidar that the amount so secured should be donated to the Borsad Satyagrah Camp. The work of the *Zabti* officers is getting immensely difficult. I quote a conversation which took place between the *pattawala*, Kassamali and an officer.

Officer: Will you break open the lock?

Kassam Ali: That is not my work. That is the work of the Police who are paid for it. I am being criticised by the whole village which, of course, does not matter to you.

Officer: Then give up your service?

Kassam Ali: If you so desire here is the *patto*.

The Pattawala emphatically maintained that his work was to dispatch the luggage to the *chowki* and not to take it from the house.

VILLAGE ORGANISERS WANTED.

The leaders have thought of posting one volunteer in each village with a responsible worker in each of the centres. Such an organisation to carry out the khadi work and to spread the untouchability and temperance propaganda, requires at least 100 volunteers. I cannot think of a better opportunity for village organisation work than this; and those whose hearts are stirred by the message of Gandhiji to educate and organise the masses will not fail to respond to the call of Borsad.

AGRICULTURAL OUTLOOK.

Standing crops are in fair to good condition except in parts of Deccan, Karnatak, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country States where they are suffering for want of sufficient moisture. Cotton and other crops slightly damaged by frost in parts of Sind. Harvesting and threshing of kharif crops continues. Picking of cotton is in progress in parts of Sind, Deccan, Baroda, Rewa Kantha and Kathiawar. Supply of water for drinking was generally sufficient. Water for irrigation was adequate except in parts of Gujarat. Supply of fodder was generally adequate except in parts of Nawabshah, Broach, Satara Belgaum and Dharwar districts and Kathiawar, Baroda, Palanpur, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country States. Agricultural stock was generally in good condition. Prices of food grains were fluctuating. The quantities purchasable per rupee were as follows:—

	Percentage below normal.
Sind	1 to 50
Gujarat	21 to 45
Konkan	30 to 43
Deccan	31 to 45
Karnatak	38 to 46

OFFICIAL [illegible]

Colonel K. G. Buchanan has left Government House.

His Excellency visited St. George's Hospital and the Goculdas Tejpal Hospital yesterday afternoon.

Her Excellency accompanied by Major H. G. Vaux, Military Secretary, arrived from Mahableshwar on Friday afternoon.

THEATRE AND CINEMA.

THE EXCELSIOR.—A striking film of the French Revolution period is that which is being shown at the Excelsior in D. W. Griffith's newest photoplay sensation, "Orphans of the Storm." The basis of the film is the stage play by Kate Claxton—"The Two Orphans"—but Mr. Griffith has woven into it an historical romance with the thrills of some of the maddest days of the revolution period. The guillotine is seen at its deadly work, and there are tremendous crowds of frantic men and women fighting wildly against the aristocrat in the hope of freedom. In the role of Henriette is Lilian Gish, and Dorothy Gish has the role of the blind girl, the other orphan of the storm. Then there is Joseph Schildkraut, who is said to be the handsomest actor in Europe, seen in the role of a romantic lover; and also to be seen are many other principals well-known in Griffith productions. "Orphans of the Storm" is described as a moving story, swift in action, wonderful in historic interest, filled with a masterly sense of suspense and climax. A girl, slender, young and frail; a nobleman, rich, dissipated, a roue; a slender young aristocrat, handsome to the point of beauty and chivalrous—these are the characters in the love story which is told in "Orphans of the Storm."

* * * *

THE EMPIRE.—The daily change of programme at the Empire which has been adopted during the Christmas holidays will be continued during the coming week. To-day the famous vamp, Theda Bara, is to appear in "Salome"; on Sunday is to be shown Chaplin's famous film, "The Pilgrim"; on Monday, the picture that made Paris and other centres gasp—"Missing Husbands"; on Tuesday, Douglas Fairbanks in "The Mark of Zoro"; on Wednesday, Annette Kellerman in "Queen of the Sea"; on Thursday, Marie Corelli's well-known work, "God's Good Man"; and the usual Fun Friday programme for the following day. In addition to above the latest Racing topical from Calcutta will be shown including the King-Emperor's and Viceroy's Cups.

* * * *

THE EMPRESS.—At the Empress also there is to be a daily change of programme. To day Rudolph Valentino is to be seen in "The Sheikh"; on Sunday "Salome" is the attraction; on Monday Agnes Ayres appears in "The Affairs of Anatol"; on Tuesday is to be shown "The Kid", Chaplin's best film; on Wednesday there will be a revival of an old friend in "Tarzan of the Apes"; the following day will see the presentation of the sequel, "The Romance of Tarzan", and for the Friday "Julius Caesar" is the draw.

* * * *

IMPERIAL presents this week the last instalment of Madan's Super-Indian Serial "Patni Pratap", the concluding chapters of which, viz.:—"Hidden Treasure" and "The reward of virtue" are full of suspense actions, and dramatic sensations, and consequently the audience of every character will enjoy and admire the same. Every Hindu family must witness the ideal life of a true and a chaste Hindu lady "Urmila", the heroine of this serial, who has suffered untolerable hardships, but you will find this week that excellent reward is waiting for her virtues. The programme this week also includes selected comedy and the latest Pathe Gazette.

* * * *

WEST-END CINEMA.—Universal has produced a real picture and added another feather to its cap. "Merry-Go-Round" is a story of Austria just before the outbreak of the war, when Vienna was the gayest city of Europe, and the Prater, the Coney Island of that country, was nightly packed with throngs of pleasure seekers. It is the romance of a high born count and a peasant girl who grinds the organ that furnishes the music while the merry-go-round spins on its course. The story is dramatic to the last degree, but without hokum or melodrama, even escaping the eternal curse of the war-dated picture—an overabundance of battle scenes. In ten reels there is approximately one-fifth of one reel of battle scenes. The locale is interesting and rare on the screen—the romantic, gray, historical city of Vienna, capital of the crumbling Austrian splendour that dazzled Europe for centuries.

It is a two-hours' programme—a picture de Luxe—10 rels, and it is to be screened completely from end to end in one show. A picture that reminds you of "Foolish Wives"—and in fact practically all the actors and actresses of that great picture are present here.

* * * *

NOVELTY CINEMA.—An unusual plot presents itself in "Dusk to Dawn", the King Vidor-Associated Exhibitors feature drama which brings Florence Vidor to the Novelty Cinema to-day and this week. Therein Marjorie Latham agrees to rescue a young man from the toils of a designing woman, if said young man's father will stay prosecution of her brother, accused of forgery. When the young man forgot the "designing woman", Babette by name, he fell headlong in love with Marjarie, who refused to marry him because of strangely realistic dreams in which she seemed to lead another life. To his mind it was a poor excuse, and he informed his dad that he was "going to the devil." Straightway dad reminded Marjorie of her broken promise. She realized then that her only chance was with Babette, so she posed as a woman of Babett's type. Those were dark hours in Marjorie's life, but as dawn follows dusk, so did happiness follow Marjorie's sufferings to reward her for her sacrifices. A cast of well-known players gives Miss Vidor lead ing support. Jack Mulhall, particularly remembered for his acting in "Turn to the Right", is leading man. Others are Peter Burke, Truman Van Dyke, James Neill, Nellie Anderson and Lydia Knott.

INDEPENDENCE TRIBUNAL.

LUTI FIKRI SENTENCED TO 5 YEARS' HARD LABOUR.

LONDON, Dec. 27.

Constantinople.—The Tribunal of Independence has sentenced Luti Fikri, President of the Turkish Bar, to five years' hard labour.—Reuter.

TURKISH AMNESTY BILL.

PASSED BY NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

LONDON, Dec. 28.

Constantinople.—The Turkish National Assembly has passed the much-discussed Amnesty Bill reducing by half all the sentences pronounced before 29th October when the Republic was proclaimed.—Reuter.

SINGAPORE SCHEME.

PLEA FOR A DRY DOCK IN CAPE TOWN.

LONDON, Dec. 27.

Cape Town.—The "Cape Times," discussing the Singapore Base Scheme, particularly draws attention to the declaration of Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Field that the Cape route is likely to become a still more important link in the Empire communication in the future than in the past. The journal urges the construction of a large modern dry dock in Cape Town for the use of trading vessels and, in the time of emergency, battleships frequenting the Cape route. The paper says that the costs of construction in Cape Town will be cheaper than in Singapore and expenditure will possibly be six to seven million sterling, compared with the estimated cost of eleven million sterling for the Singapore scheme. Cape Town harbour could be equipped with a feature badly needed by the navy and merchant shipping.—Reuter.

PROGRESSIVE WANKANER.

PRIMARY EDUCATION MADE COMPULSORY.

AHMEDABAD, Dec. 28.

Primary education will be made compulsory from the next month in Wankaner State.

CALCUTTA HIGH COURT.

MR. M.N.M OOKERJEE APPOINTED ADDITIONAL JUDGE.

(Associated Press.)

DELHI, Dec. 27.

A Communique says:—Mr. Manmatha Nath Mookerjee has been appointed to act as an Additional Judge of High Court, Calcutta.

SPORTING NEWS

BOMBAY RACES.

5TH EXTRA MEETING.

TODAY'S SELECTIONS (BY "SENEX,")

THE WINDSOR PLATE.—6 Furlongs 41 yards.
TARVIE 1
WHIT WEEK 2
STARBOARD 3

THE MANCHESTER PLATE.—1 Mile.
SCHIEHALLION 1
MAGICAL MIKE 2
DAYSPRING 3

THE OLD YEAR HANDICAP.—1 Mile.
TROILUS 1
ROWARDENNAN 3

THE ANDHERI PLATE.—1 Mile.
CESSATION 1
ALDER 2
ZOHAL 3

THE WREXHAM PLATE.—6 furlongs 41 yards.
TALMA 1
MUSK RAT 2

THE PRONGS PLATE.—Div. I.—1¼ Miles.
GUINEA 1
CAIRO 2
SINNAN 3

THE PRONGS PLATE.—Div. II.—1¼ Miles.
NAFA 1
NADIR SHAH 2
VAZIR-UL-MULK 3

P. Y. C. HINDU TENNIS TOURNAMENTS.

The following are the results of the matches:—

Vaidya beat Gole 6-3, 6-4.
Sanghani beat Godbole 6-1, 6-0.
Subbarao beat Jathar 10-8, 3-6, 6-2.
Bhagwat beat Vaidya 3-6, 6-2, 6-2.
Lele beat Mehendale 6-3, 6-2.
Pawar beat Subbarao 6-1, 7-5.
Devdhar beat Vartak 6-3, 6-2.

FOOTBALL.

The 8th football match of the Tournament held under the auspices of the P. Y. C. Hindu Gymkhana was played on the Hindu Gymkhana grounds on the 27th inst. between the Fergusson College and [illegible] V A Team, and ended in a win for the latter by 1 goal to 0.

LEAGUE FOOTBALL.

LONDON, Dec. 27.

The following football matches were played to-day:—

First Division.—Arsenal nil, Notts County nil.

Third Division (Southern Section).—Northampton one, Swindon Town one.

His Excellency Lord Rawlinson opened at Lilloah on 28th December the Miniature Rifle Range of the East Indian Railway Battalion's Auxilary Force and fired the first shot.

Rs. 10/- TIP CARD

for to-day is going to help you considerably. An Excellent Selection.

IN ADDITION
I promise you a certain
WINNER
AT GOOD ODDS FOR
Rs. 50/-

Your Money returned if horse does not win.

QUADRUPLE PLACE
Rs. 50/-

Of place horses paying good odds, Money returned if all FOUR do not place.

Don't Miss To-day
A REAL TOPNOTCH CARD
READY 11 A. M.
"TIPSTER"
129, Great Western Buildings
Bakehouse Lane,
BOMBAY.

330 P. C. PROFIT IN A DAY

The System Contained in
ART OF RACING
gave 60 p.c. of winners and 60 p.c. of placed horses giving a net profit of 330 p. c. on capital invested last Wednesday.

NO ASTROLOGY.

It is a sure and easy way to find out winners.

Copies can be had at Rs. 5 from:—
INDIAN BOOK DEPOT, Meadows Street.
TARAPOREWALA, Hornby Road.
THACKER & CO., Esplanade Road.

THE NAUTILUS RACE

By Capt. NEMO, Racing Expert.

For Bombay 5th Extra Meeting.

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1923.
(658th Day of Mahatma's Imprisonment.)

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

It is impossible for Maulana Mahomed Ali to be brief in speech as it is impossible for him to be dull. The presidential address that he delivered at the Cocanada Congress, as might have been expected, is characteristic of him in an astonishing degree. Not only is it an amazingly lengthy document—it runs into many more pages than contained any past presidential address to the Congress—it is more enlivening and stimulating than most of the set speeches delivered from the presidential chair of the Congress. Every page of it bears the stamp of the speaker's voluble and virile personality. Its wealth of telling witticism, apt anecdotes and meaning parables, like that of the wise and the foolish mothers, more convincing than any argument for the preservation of Hindu-Muslim unity, or like that of Cooperation more damning than any indictment of the disservice done to the country by the Cooperators—and, not least, the undercurrent of deep earnestness running through it, must, in spite of its length, have made the listeners, like so many Oliver Twists, ask for more. Considering that for two years he was kept mentally starved in jail and was released only four months ago, the speech, comprehensive as it is in the range of its subjects, is a remarkable achievement even for Maulana Mahomed Ali. He prefaced it by pointing out that while those who had hitherto occupied the presidential chair had been veterans who had grown grey in the service of the Congress, he himself was among the babes and sucklings of the Congress, having attended it for the first time only in 1919. The phenemenon is, indeed, remarkable, but more remarkable is the change that has come over the country during recent years of which it is an index. The change has been in the mental outlook not only of Maulana Mahomed Ali himself, not only of the community to which he belongs, nor even only of the Hindus, but of the people as a whole. India has, during these years, as a result of causes that are well-known, found herself once again as a nation, conscious of her great past and confident of her yet greater future, and the "coming of the Mahatma" was the proclamation to the world of this fact. The new India is the creation of the sufferings and sacrifices of her sons as well as of the world forces unchained by the war. And in this India the test of honour is not merely length of service—itself no unimportant consideration—but the intensity of sacrifice behind the service however brief or long. It is because Maulana Mahomed Ali has passed this test that to-day he has been called upon to guide the deliberations of the National Parliament.

In some ways the most remarkable change has been that in the mentality of the Muslim community which has had, in addition to the common sufferings, to bear sorrows of its own. And Maulana Mahomed Ali did well to trace the growth of this change—though the history he gave would not have lost its force by a little condensation—in order to elucidate the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity which is the most vital problem facing the country and to bring home the necessity of cooperation between the two communities. The history is one of progressive disillusionment of the Muslims, from the time when Sir Syed Ahmed Khan enjoined upon them to eschew the Congress and concentrate on education to the time when their hearts were lacerated by the iniquitous Treaty of Sevres. Whether we agree with Maulana Mahomed Ali in holding that Sir Syed Ahmed was right in the course he advised his co-religionists to follow, we cannot ignore the fact that he realised more vividly than many of his contemporaries the magnitude and the delicacy of the Hindu-Muslim problem when in his unforgettable phrase he likened the two communities to the eyes of Mother Hind and that, despite the lost causes of which Aligarh has continued to be the champion, the old English Official was right when he told Maulana Shaukat Ali: "Do you think young Musalmans who are being taught at Aligarh almost as well as our own boys at Harrow and Winchester, who live their lives and can beat them at their own games, would obsequiously serve them when they came out as Indian Civilians or members of such other superior services? No Mr. Shaukat Ali, the days of British rule in India are numbered, and it is your loyal Syed Ahmed Khan, that is the arch-rebel to-day." Sir Syed Ahmed may well find justification of his work in the person and achievements of Maulana Mahomed Ali, his Big Brother and most of the prominent leaders of the Khilafat movement, all products of Aligarh, who are also leaders of the Congress. It is these leaders who have been in the van of the political progress of the Muslims as the latter gradually realised, thanks to the policy of the bureaucracy in India and of British statesmen towards Muslim countries, that their dependence upon a foreign Government for support against sister communities laid them perpetually open to betrayals and they could place no reliance on such support, whether at home or abroad; and that "perhaps at a much smaller sacrifice of their interests they could purchase lasting peace and even secure the friendship of their neighbours and fellow-countrymen." Maulana Mahomed Ali has told in his own inimitable manner this sad tale of Muslim disillusionment and also the oft-told tale of the conversion of the Mahatma and his countrymen from a policy of Cooperation to that of Non-cooperation and also how "it was reserved for a Christian Government to treat as a felon the most Christ-like man of our times and to penalise as a disturber of the public peace the one man engaged in public affairs who comes nearest to the Prince of Peace." It is, of course, natural that the apologists of the present system of Government should ignore the causes—the wrongs inflicted on the people of India—of the Non-Cooperation movement and to attribute to its leaders a desire to involve the country in violence, carnage and anarchy. There is no more eloquent passage in Maulana Mahomed Ali's address than that in which he contrasts the patent insincerity of those whose own hands "are red with the blood of the innocents shed in Jallianwalla Bagh—blood still as unrepented as unavenged"—with the frank acceptance by the Mahatma of his full responsibility for Chauri-Chaura and the Bombay riots and thus furnishes the measure of the moral worth of Non-Cooperation and of its relentless opponents. He added: "When the guilt of Chauri-Chaura and similar unfortunate occurrences is being judged, it is necessary to take into consideration not only that which was done but also that which had been resisted. Never before in the annals of India have the people felt as intensely as they have done since the dawn of Non-Co-operation, and the marvel is not that the fury of the mob has resulted in so much bloodshed, but that the manhood of India has been successfully revived with so little of it. I challenge anyone to show another instance in the history of mankind where hundreds of millions of people have been roused to stand up for their liberties and have remained so peaceful as the people of India led by Mahatma Gandhi. There is no country of Europe, with all its cold, frog blood, that would not have experienced a deluge of blood in like circumstances. That India has escaped such a deluge is due to Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers."

But the work is not ended, the goal though near in sight is yet unattained. At Delhi, as Maulana Mahomed Ali said, Congressmen proclaimed to the world that they were not satisfied with the existing state of affairs and that they were resolved to remain united. But that was not all. They had also provided remedies essentially sound in principle for their national ills. One step taken, which cleared the air considerably, was the understanding regarding the entry into the Councils. Maulana Mahomed Ali has given the right lead to the Congress in appealing to it not to disturb the Delhi understanding. The interview with Deshbandhu Das, which we published on Monday, made it clear that he and his co-workers are determined to help their fellow-Congressmen in carrying out the common national programme. As Maulana Mahomed Ali said: "If they have to leave the Councils at any later stage, the work that will have by then been done outside in their constituencies through our joint efforts will ensure this much, that no bureaucratic Cromwell could say of their exit that not a dog barked when they took their departure. And if as a result of their labours in the Councils, Swaraj is achieved, I for one would certainly not refuse to accept it. If peace, harmony and good will were needed at Delhi to preserve the great reputation of the Congress they are still needed to-day to enhance that reputation and to help us to carry out the constructive programme." It was in the interest of this programme that the Delhi understanding was arrived at as it is on fulfilment of this programme that the attainment of of Hindu-Muslim unity—which stands for national solidarity, and the issues which disturb it, are as Maulana Mahomed Ali said, contemptibly petty—in the spread of Khaddar, the removal of untouchability, the development of national education, and, above all, the strengthening of the Congress organisation, both in respect of workers and funds, in all our record since the Mahatma was imprisoned has been inglorious. But it is given to us yet to rise to the height of our ideal which is not unattainable. Our cause is just and righteous. But in this world the justice and the righteousness of a cause are not necessarily the guarantee of its success. That guarantee consists in the effort made to vindicate it. And the efficacy of the effort depends on the machinery that we organise and the earnest determination of those placed in charge of it and of the rank and file. The most urgent need of the Congress, Maulana Mahomed Ali rightly urged, is the creation of an efficient organisation, consisting of a National Secretariat, to carry on the work of the Congress year in and year out. Next to the preservation of peace and goodwill between the two sections of Congressmen this is the main task of the Cocanada Congress.

PLIGHT OF JAZIRAT-UL-ARAB.

Some time ago we received a pathetic letter from a member of the ruling family of Bahrein in which he feelingly recalled the long and faithful alliance of his house with England, and bitterly complained of the encroachments lately made upon his country's self-respect and independence by the official representatives of England in the Persian Gulf, and particularly by the conduct of the British Consul in Bahrein which he wished to bring to the notice of Englishmen. We did not publish that letter, as we were implored to do, because, being far from having the influence with the British Government which the writer seemed to ascribe to us, we feared that our publication of it might only bring fresh trouble on his head. We thought that his complaints would stand a better chance of a fair hearing if they were first ventilated in some other quarter, and without his name. The allegations were too serious to be suppressed; the grievance of the people of Bahrein was certain soon to make itself heard. It is making itself heard in Egypt now, which means that it will soon be ringing through all Arabic-speaking countries. So it is time it should be heard in India, too. The article translated from the Cairo Newspaper *As-Siyasah*, which we publish elsewhere, contains the whole complaint of the Amir who wrote to us, with later news containing fresh cause for complaint. We would, if we could, call the particular attention of the Government of India to its contents, because the British policy described therein is precisely what Britain ought most strenuously to avoid at such a crisis as the present, especially in a State which forms an integral part of *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The passage in the Consul-General's reply to the people's representatives in which he says, in answer to the threat of wholesale emigration: "We have already intimated to the neighbouring Arab Rulers the views of His Majesty's Government and have instructed them not to accept the people of Bahrein and not to give them shelter in their dominions," is particularly noteworthy in connection with the oft-repeated declaration that England makes no claim to dominion over the Arabian peninsula. Muslims will see in it a consequence of the end of Turkish Power in Arabia, which was at any rate a wholesome check on such encroachments.

Whatever may be said of Syria and Iraq (and we believe that they are not included in the term) Bahrein unquestionably does form part of Jazirat-ul-Arab. It seems unfortunate that, just at a time when everything touching the independence of the Arabs has become a delicate and ticklish question of high policy, with which only the best brains and lightest hands should be allowed to deal, such Prussian treatment should be given to Bahrein. We cannot of course vouch, in an article translated from the Arabic, for the accuracy in the terms alleged to have been employed by British officials, but we can vouch for the accuracy of the translation. It may be said that these allegations are the work of discontented and rebellious people. The tone of the article, like that of the letter which we first received, hardly support such a contention; and they are not from the same hand. Rather they seem to express the horror and the disappointment of men who had possessed a high ideal of British conduct, which has just been rudely shattered. We can imagine the Egyptians answering: "We told you so."

It may, of course—and surely will—be claimed that recent British action in Bahrein was undertaken purely for the people's good. Well, here is what the people think of it. They feel injured and ashamed; they wish to emigrate *en masse* to escape the ignominy of it. And when they state their wish to emigrate they are told practically that England is the sovereign of Arabia and can stop the neighbouring rulers from receiving them. The men on the spot are obviously unaware of the extreme impolicy of such a claim at such a time. But the Government of India must be perfectly aware of it. They are, or ought to be, the guides of England's Oriental policy, and we hope they will impress upon the Government of England the extreme unwisdom of all attempts to colonise or to reduce any part of that great, three-parts desert peninsula which, less than any country, seems designed to be the object of cupidity, but which Muslims hold so sacred that they are prepared to die for its defence—the Holy Land of Jazirat-ul-Arab.

Notes of the Day.

The Congress Creed.

The resolution on the revision of the Congress creed has now become a hardy annual of the Congress session. The repeated attempts made to secure the adoption of the resolution defining the aim of the Congress as complete independence, however, reveal the depth of feeling that exists in the country on the subject. But to feel strongly on the subject is one thing; to act upto the feeling is quite a different thing. The destiny of any country is in the hands of its own people. For the Indian people who have yet to win freedom, to threaten separation from Britain before the whole country is unanimous in demanding such separation and is able to carry the threat into effect or to pay the price for it is neither wise nor expedient. The creed of the Congress as now defined admits of no improvement as it satisfies the aspiration of all sections of the people, because it emphasises that India will have Swaraj within the Empire if possible and without it if necessary. The Subjects Committee of the Congress has, therefore, done the right thing in rejecting the resolution.

The Small Split.

It is a common boast of the Liberals that, unlike themselves, the Nationalists are always acutely divided and that unity in the Congress is really artificial and shallow. Now if this is meant to imply that the Liberal party, small as it is, is not divided by personal jealousies and rivalries or that Liberal principles are so clear-cut and definitive that the Liberals stand on them as a solid phalanx before an admiring mankind, the picture is wholly false. The Liberal party, in fact, has no cohesiveness in spite of its small size. And this for the simple reason that it has few genuine or rational principles and no moral basis. But it is nevertheless true that the Liberal party has few discordant elements in it. For it requires some vitality even to wrangle and a party which has no vital contact with the living forces of society can naturally never be divided, for it will have little to divide it. But it seems that even the Liberal party is now divided and that about a matter which appears singularly trivial to all who have not imbibed constitutional principles. National indignation on Kenya as we know was to exhaust itself on the ridiculously inadequate proposal of boycotting the Empire Exhibition. The very word "boycott," however, is anathema to the Liberals who cannot swallow even this modest proposal. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who participated in one Imperial "entertainment" naturally wishes India to participate in another. Till his precious committees are appointed and report, there must be preserved peace on earth and goodwill towards men at least on our side: for Immigration Ordinances may be framed in Kenya to oust Indians or British Columbia may refuse to enfranchise Indians but Indians should refuse, not to retaliate but even to withdraw from an Exhibition—a step not likely to injure any part of the Empire! Mr. Sastri, we note, in the interests of Liberal solidarity and constitutional harmony withdrew his resolution and the Liberal Conference refused to acquiesce in the boycott proposal. No more proof of the sobriety of the Liberals is now needed at any rate in quarters whose approval the Liberals value more than the trust of their own countrymen.

HINDUS UNDER MUSLIM RULE.

BY DR. SYED MAHMUD.

It is generally believed that the Mussalmans always looked upon the Hindus as their inferiors and regarded their religion with contempt. Some of the haughtier spirits may have done so, but the Muslim Sufis and the Ulema who have had the opportunity of studying the Hindu scripts and Hindu philosophy held them in high esteem and spoke of their religion in the highest terms and with the greatest respect. It is perhaps true that an ordinary Mussalman knows the Hindu as a Kafir—meaning an unbeliever. All the mutual misunderstandings in the past were due to this fact. And if the future misunderstandings are to be avoided Mussalmans should carefully study Hindu scripts and philosophy and the Hindus should get into a real insight of Muslim history and Muslim culture. Whatever may be the belief and practice of a common Hindu the early Vedas teach him to be a believer in one God and one alone. The original sacred books of the Hindus do not sanction the practices of later Hinduism, they may be interpreted "as against the prevailing idolatry", and the real Hinduism prescribed by the holy writ is a much higher and purer revelation. Muslim saints and scholars did not look upon the Hindu religion with contempt but held it in high regard. Some of the modern Hindu writers bitterly and rightfully complain that the Muslim historians of India adopted a contemptuous tone while writing about the Hindus and *always* used the expression, "the infidel went to hell", when writing of a Hindu's death. This statement while painfully true in particular instances cannot be generalized. Mullah Abdul Qadir Al Badaoni is the chief sinner in this respect. But then he was a notoriously bigoted, narrow-minded individual. He severly censures Akbar for his large-heartedness, accuses Abul Fazl and his father, Mullah Mobrak, for their broadminded toleration of other religions and condemns unmercifully his own patron the learned Faizi to whom he owed his position and emoluments, for ridiculing his prejudices. Some of the Muslim historians have used this expression about the Hindu rebels but very seldom about other Hindus.

They use this expression about Mohamedan rebels also. When they speak of the Imperial army, in connection of a battle they always say that so many soldiers of the Imperial troops have "received the Crown of martyrdom." Now the Imperial army always consisted of Hindus and Muslims both. They do not use contemptuous expression about Raja Todar Mal, Raja Bhgwan Das, Raja Man Singh and Raja Jai Singh and a host of others. On the other hand they speak of them with feeling and respect. This shows that did these historians did not use the objectionable expression simply because those men were Hindus.

Al Beruni and Hindu Civilization.

Al Beruni, who came to India in the tenth century of the Christian Era and stayed in the country for many years together and studied Hindu civilization and Hindu religion with a deep insight of

(Continued on page 11.)

CALL FOR UNITY.

TRIPLE BOYCOTT ESSENTIAL FOR N-C-O.

DUTY OF SWARAJISTS.

MR. K. VENKATAPPAYYA'S ADDRESS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

COCANADA, Dec. 28.

The following is a comprehensive summary of the speech delivered by Mr. Konda Venkatappayya, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress, this afternoon:—

"Now that the elections are over both the parties in the Congress should unite and carry on the constructive programme. Let the Swarajists determine among themselves the programme of work they should adopt inside the Councils. But it is undesirable to reopen the question of Councils in any form as it is likely to lead to recrudescence of dissensions which we had striven to put an end to at Delhi with the result of paralysing the future work in the Congress. To abandon the triple boycott is to abandon non-co-operation movement, and the very idea is unthinkable when we remember that Mahatma Gandhi is still in jail. If the leaders are prepared to lead, placing real confidence in the movement, there will be no lack of following in the country."

In this strain spoke Mr. Konda Venkatappayya, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates who had assembled from all parts of the country. Though an Andhra, he addressed the Congress in Hindi, a fact which was appreciated. After briefly alluding to the history of the Andhras as a race, Mr. Venkatappayya observed that it was but fitting that the Congress should hold its session in this district and in this city which was undoubtedly one of the finest in the whole of the Andhra country. It was the people of this district and of this city that had had the largest share of responsibility for holding the Congress here. In this vast assembly every one felt deeply the absence of Mahatma Gandhi, who for the freedom of India had toiled night and day after starting the movement of non-co-operation. That at this moment he should be in jail, was a sad comment on the weakness of the Indian nation, on the firmness and integrity of which he had so much relied. Failure to attain Swaraj within one year was due not to any intrinsic defect in the principle of the programme but to want of strength in Indians to rise equal to the occasion. "With the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi" continued the Chairman, "the Movement began to fag and differences and dissensions broke out. Two years of our precious time were wasted till at Delhi (in the Special Congress) raprochment was made by allowing those who had no objection to enter the Councils to do so. But at the same time, the Congress had called upon the country to concentrate all its engergies in carrying out the constructive programme. But the elections made it impossible for people to attend to constructive work. Some Swarajists, satisfied even with the limited measures of success at the polls, indicate their desire to seek a mandate from the Congress as to their work in the Councils, while the no-changers being dissatisfied with the actions of some Swarajists which contravened the fundamental principles of non-co-operation, feel it necessary to have the principles as well as the programme of the movement reaffirmed by this Congress. The Special Congress having merely lifted the ban on Council entry in respect of those who felt no conscientious objection to it, any violation of the principles of non-co-operation is unwarranted and it is regrettable that some people should have taken shelter under that resolution to infringe the same. Now that the question of Council entry has been disposed of elections also finished, there should be no difficulty hereafter for both the parties to unite and carry on the constructive programme. Those that have entered the Councils will determine among themselves the programme of the work they should adopt inside the Councils. It seems undesirable to re-open the question of Councils in any form as it is likely to lead to recrudescence of dissesions which we had striven to put an to at Delhi, with the result of paralysing the future work of the Congress.

TRIPLE BOYCOTT.

Again here is the question of triple boycott which some like to reaffirm and enforce and others wish to alter and yet others who advocate its total abandonment. It is true it has not evoked universal enthusiasm among the people. But even if a few men intensely devoted to the cause, keep the flag flying, they will be a power in the land giving fresh vigour and lire to the movement and making it possible some day to attain Swaraj. For, to abandon the triple boycott is to abandon the movement. The efforts of some thousands in a land of thirty crores for a period of one year shook the foundations of the British Government. Even amongst the Western races who for the sake of power and domain do not hesitate to abuse the highest discoveries of science to shed the blood of their fellow-beings, this movement has infused a spirit of non-violence and prompted them to some extent to employ even the programme of non-co-operation. The very abandonment of triple boycott is unthinkable when we remember Mahatma Gandhi is still in jail.

AKALI STRUGGLE.

Mr. Konda Venkatappayya then referred to the struggle of the Akalis who had demonstrated the practical application of non-violence as a political weapon.

It had been a studied attempt of the Government to create an impression that they were heedless of its strength, while all the time they were anxiously planning in their secret chambers ways and means of suppressing it. There had undoubtedly been a lull in the movement, but if the leaders were prepared to lead, placing confidence in the movement there would be no lack of following in the country. Such of the Swarajists as had entered the Councils should devote some of their time for Congress without allowing themselves to be wholly absorbed in Council work. Differences of views beween the two parties should not be allowed to interfere with the constructive programme. Though there was no leader who could approach Mahatma Gandhi in his capacity to inspire and influence the hearts of the people, still there were many persons who by virtue of their attainments and personal sacrifice in the cause of freedom could undoubtedly command the confidence of the public. The desire for Swaraj was universally cherished in the country and all were united in the demand for it. India has no recognised place amongst the civilised nations of the world. Indians were not allowed to live in foreign countries except as coolies and serfs to be exploited for the benefit of whitemen. The Kenya decision had branded Indians as slaves declaring it impossible for them to attain the status of equality with the Whites. When the Government which was carrying on the administration in an increasingly oppressive manner, was fearlessly attacked, they threatened to withdraw the Reforms. Such an act on their part would no doubt be a consummation devoutly to be wished for, for it was these Reforms which had removed from the ranks of Congressmen, with whom they had worked together ever since this institution was formed. Equality was possible only between parties enjoying equal freedom and unless they secured that freedom neither Indians in India nor abroad could find remedies for wrongs done. Swaraj was the only panacea and the desire for national self-realisation could not always be fed by an exciting programme. A cool and deliberate resolve to achieve Swaraj in spite of all obstacles was a surer guarantee of success in the struggle.

HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS.

Referring to the Hindu-Muslim relations, Mr. Konda Venkatappayya pointed out that differences arose not only on religious but also on economic grounds. Dr. Syed Mahomed and his friends had restored friendly relations between Hindus and Mahomedans at Ajmere, and Mr. Venkatappayya thought that the first duty of all-India leaders was to consult with men of local influence and concert measures to remove the causes of differences. They ought to impress upon the people that we are all Indians first, and in order to create such an impression, leaders of either community should closely associate themselves with their respective communities taking active part in the institutions belongng to them, even as Muslim leaders were taking active interest in the Khilafat and the Ulema movements, so that the mistake committed by the people might be pointed out. While impressing on the Congress the necessity of adopting, with such modifications as would be necessary, the suggestions of the committee appointed to draft the National Pact, the speaker advised the spread of Hindi as a means of strengthening national unity.

SPREAD OF KHADDAR.

The spread of khaddar and removal of untouchability were among the other items of the constructive programme. Every ryot should therefore make it his duty to grow cotton in his land, at least to the extent of the requirements of his family. Every family should set up one or more charkhas and spin the yarn required for its use. Proceeding on these lines, India would, ere long, be able to clothe herself in khaddar, an achievement which in itself would bring them nearest to Swaraj. It was not easy to make an advance in the removal of untouchability unless the country realised the injustice of the treatment accorded to the Panchama brethren. The movement of Non-co-operation was also a spiritual movement and the unjust and unequal treatment of their fellow countrymen proved the hollowness of their professions as non-co-operators.

ORGANISATION OF CONGRESS WORK.

Continuing, the Chairman dwelt on the urgency of forming Congress Committees in every village or at least in every important rural centre and said that permanent arrangements should also be made for the collection of Swaraj fund in such a manner that financial burdens might be as far as possible evenly distributed amongst the people. It was also desirable that the whole work of the Congress should be divided into various departments and each of them placed in charge of members of the Executive Committee.

Concluding Mr. Konda Venkatappayya detailed the services rendered to the nation by Maulana Mahomed Ali and his big brother, Maulana Shaukat Ali and hoped that under the able guidance of Mahomed Ali the Hin-

(Continued on next page.)

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KHILAFAT WORKERS.

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI'S TRIBUTE.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT COCANADA.

The following is in continuation of Maulana Shaukat Ali's presidential address before the Cocanada Khilafat Conference:—

Now I want to say a few words more. In 1913 I went to Deo Band for the first time in order to seek the help of the Ulemas of that place for re-establishing Khuddam-i-Kaba. At that time there was peace in the country. The Ulemas had kept themselves away from those movements which had the slightest tinge of politics and we were not receiving from them that assistance which we deserved. The fear of the Government was very great and no one had the courage to oppose them. That was the time for work when enemies were more and friends less. It was the time for walking in the way of God.

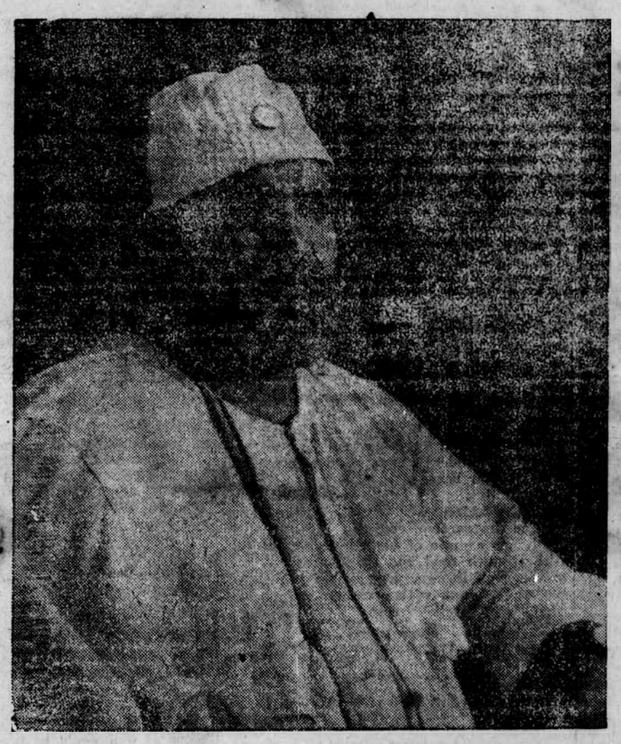
Dear friends, continued the Maulana, can't you recall that time when our movement was started in the beginning of 1920? Then there was no understanding, not a pie in our coffers; and no place for doing office-work. For the support of the Khilafat there were only a few men like Mian Mohammed Hajee Jan Mahommed Chotani and some of his friends. The mass of our people were aware of this but there was no special arrangement. Thanks to God that after the Conference of Amritsar, arrangements, for pecuniary help had been made. The first contribution that came to the Khilafat Fund was by an anonymous Zamindar of the Punjab whose name they would be astonished to hear. By the grace of God our movement grew stronger and stronger day by day till the Mahomedans of all the countries began to take part in it. Moreover, two great Hindu leaders, Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, who were respected by the whole country, promised to help the movement. After February Mahatma Gandhi began to take an active part so much so that he called himself a worker of the Khilafat. He used to tour round India in furtherance of Khilafat work and at last was arrested for writing an article on the Khilafat problem. I want to tell you that the Non-Cooperation movement, which is now so successful and powerful, was embraced by the Mahomedans with full reliance upon God and with the advice of Mahatma Gandhi in the Hindu-Muslim Conference of Allahabad. The Government was asked to consider our claims and accept them by the 1st of August. At Allahabad we had not much hope of the help of the Hindus but at three o'clock in the night of the holy month of Ramzan, we had resolved to sacrifice our every thing for fulfilling that religious duty. And we determined we would not take rest till the great God made us successful.

KHILAFAT DEPUTATION.

Our deputation was doing its work and stating our claims before the Ministers of England, Italy, and France. The movement spread day by day thanks to the efforts of the Mahatma and his friends and you would be glad to hear that as the Congress had no Fund at that time, the Khilafat Fund contributed to the expenses of Madras, Gujarat and the United Provinces Congress Committees. Finally in September the special Congress of Calcutta made the Khilafat problem a National problem. It was again approved at the Nagpur Congress. Thousands of Mahomedans and Hindus came out to work. We were under the impression that the Government would use their discretion and not make matters worse. On the other hand the Government spent all their efforts to check the movement. The first attack was upon the Mahomedans which resulted in the famous case of Karachi. The coming of the Prince of Wales, the boycotting, the filling of the jails, and the imprisonment of Deshbandhu Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawahar Lal, and Ma-

(Continued on page 8.)

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI.



WHO PRESIDED OVER THE ALL-INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE WHICH HELD ITS SESSION AT COCANADA ON THURSDAY LAST

INDIA AND EMPIRE EXHIBITION

MR. SASTRI FAVOURS WITHDRAWAL

DR. SAPRU'S OPPOSITION.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS)

POONA, Dec. 27.

The National Liberal Federation of India had in to-day's agenda a resolution recommending withdrawal from the British Empire Exhibition by all Governments in India. It seems there was a keenly contested debate in the Subjects Committee, the President opposing the motion and Mr. Sastri favouring it. Eventually the resolution had to be voted upon, with the result that it was passed by a majority and it was decided to place it on the agenda. Mr. Sastri, however, made a statement to the effect that in order to avoid split in the Liberal camp it had been found desirable to drop it, leaving individual members of the party in perfect freedom to take their own line of action. The meeting accorded the necessary permission for the withdrawal of the resolution, after which the Conference adjourned to 12 mid-day tomorrow.

FRANCE AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

DRAFT TREATY OF ALLIANCE.

LONDON, Dec. 27.

Paris.—As the outcome of Dr. Masaryk's visit here in October last, a treaty has been drafted between France and Czecho-Slovakia providing for close co-operation in political, economic and military spheres especially aiming at the maintenance of the new status of Europe under peace treaties. The Treaty will be signed in a few weeks.—Reuter.

It is reported from Algiers that the outposts in mid-Sahara report having seen the "Dixmude" drifting over In Salah towards Hoggar.—Reuter.

FRANCE AND RUSSIA.

POSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION.

LONDON, Dec. 28.

Paris.—That the alliance between France and Czecho-Slovakia may eventually prove a bridge between Paris and Moscow is the opinion of a number of French newspapers which declare that M. Benes, in the course of negotiations, was of opinion that as Soviet Russia would shortly be recognised by the British Labour Government, France and Czecho-Slovakia might immediately do likewise.—Reuter.

FATE OF THE "DIXMUDE."

LONDON, Dec. 28.

A Paris message states it is officially announced that the "Dixmude" previously reported to have been drifting over the Salah in the Sahara has been lost in the sea.—Reuter.

Paris.—Italian authorities state that the body of the Commander of the "Dixmude" has been picked up by fishermen near Girgenti.—Reuter.

SIR AMEER ALI

LONDON, Dec. 28.

Sir Ameer Ali who has been seriously ill with severe bronchitis is now convalescent.—Reuter.

Death has occurred of M. Eiffel, constructor of the Eiffel Tower.—Reuter.

PLIGHT OF JAZIRAT-UL-ARAB.

REVELATIONS FROM BAHREIN.

PEOPLE THREATEN EMIGRATION.

ARAB CHIEFS "INSTRUCTED" NOT TO SHELTER THEM.

THEIR PLEA FOR JUSTICE

Translation of an article published in As-Siyasah an Arabic newspaper of Cairo Dec. 5th 1923.

We have received from a correspondent at Bahrein the following article.

The Readers of Egyptian newspapers are roughly acquainted with the unhappy policy being enforced at Bahrein. But we do not think that a person living in a law-abiding country can imagine what colonial diplomacy has been doing in this land.

Bahrein is not one of the territories of those powers who plunge into the deep waters of war; she did not fight against the English, nor did she ever have ill-feeling towards them. She was an independent country with an Arab Government which made a treaty with the representatives of the English as other Arab States did concerning slavery and arms only. Nevertheless, for about 2 years the British Consul has gone beyond the bounds of his duty to such an extent that it was impossible to keep silence any more. The people protested, but he would not heed. The matter reached its extreme in the month of Shavval last by the deposition of the Sheik at the hands of Colonel Knox, the Consul General of the Persian Gulf and by encroachment upon all the State prerogatives. This caused out-cry and unrest among the people. Though the Consul tried severely to put down the clamour against his acts, though he imprisoned, deported and, fined, he did not succeed, but the disaffection spread among all classes of the tribes till they decided on holding a Congress to make known the demands of the people and declare their will. It met in fact on the 15th Rabi-ul Awwal 1342 A. H. and passed the following resolutions:—

The resolutions of the Bahrein Congress:

In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate, we, the undersigned, nobles and chiefs of the tribes, the ulema and merchants, representing the people of Bahrein, in view of what has happened to us in our country touching our self-respect, our laws and the rights of our Government and feeling quite sure that Great Britain is just and would not desire that insult should be given to a peaceful nation and would not approve of Major Daly's actions in transgression of the treaty between herself and us and there being no other means for recovering our rights but by announcing our demands and continuing to do so till they are acknowledged, have assembled and determined to assert the following demands without securing which we cannot live contented in our native land preserving our self-respect and our religion.

1. Continuance of our own chosen Ruler Shaikh Isa in the administration of internal affairs of the Government as heretofore without the interference of the British Consul who should abide by the friendly relations which are binding to us as well as to Great Britain. Should Shaikh Isa desire to appoint his son Shaikh Hamad (for instance) the ruler we should expect from him what we expect from his father.

2. That the whole administration shall be conducted in accordance with the Mahomedan law and the Equity pertaining to pearl diving problems which is also a part of the Mahomedan law.

3. To form a parliament out of the general public which will attend to the interests of the country and to matters that may arise like the formation of Sub-Councils in the whole country.

4. To form a Committee of 4 elected persons well-versed in the science of pearl diving whose duty will be to consider and settle cases pertaining to pearl diving.

5. That the British Consul should abide by the contents of the treaty contracted between the Government of Bahrein and that of Great Britain and should not meddle with internal affairs.

6. We have selected from among ourselves 12 persons to do all they can to maintain and make good our demands by all lawful means. They are:—Shaikh Abdul Vahhab bin Haji Azzaiyani, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mahmud Sayed Abdulla bin Ibrahim, Hussein bin Alli Al Mannai: Shahin bin Sagar Al Jala Hamah: Mohamed bin Rashid Hindi; Ahmed bin Kassum Al Johdar; Isa bin Ahmed Addosari; Ahmed bin Lahej; Jabr bin Mohamed Al Muslim; Mohnna bin Fadal Annaimee; Mohamed bin Sabah Aal bin Alli.

Thus they are our representatives and every one of us has taken a vow not to speak at all in the above matter without taking their advice and every one of us declares solemnly that we will remain united in every matter.

(Signatures)

After that the people's delegates sent a memorial to the Consul-General of the Persian Gulf, Mr. A. B. Trevor at Bushire who had newly arrived there. We cannot publish the text of the memorial on account of its length.

In reply Major Daly received a telegram which he notified to the public and which entirely disappointed the people. A tribe called Ad-Dawasir emigrated from Bahrein to the dominions of the Amir of Najd.

Three days later the aforesaid Consul-General came to Bahrein. The delegates of the people presented to him another memorial in reply to his telegraphic message, as follows:—

Your Excellency,

Major Daly has notified to the people of Bahrein the following declaration in reply to the petitions.

Declaration:—

From Consul A. B. Trevor, C.S.I., S.I.E., Consul-General for the Persian Gulf.

To the General Public in Bahrein.

As I have come to know from the petitions, I received and from other sources that the people have some doubts as to the continuance of the current policy and the reforms introduced in Bahrein, I, Colonel A. B. Trevor, C.S.I., C.I.E., clearly inform and assure the public in Bahrein that His Majesty's Government, after thorough official inquiries ascertained and in the month of "Shaval" last that the state of affairs in Bahrein was much in need of reforms; consequently His Majesty's Government issued orders to begin the necessary reforms. I declare to the people that the orders of His Majesty's Government will be executed in all circumstances and the programme of reforms which we have already begun will continue steadily without the least hindrance."

Your Excellency, this declaration indicates that you seem to have understood from the petitions that the people of Bahrein despise reforms and prefer barbarism and chaos. No, Your Excellency, we are civilised people and not barbarians and have been striving for reforms. We belong to a nation that was civilised in pre-historic times. But we do not admit that a thing be called by a name other than its own. Can any body call what has happened and is in force at Bahrein Reforms? Is it reform to depose the ruler of a country against his will and the will of his people without just cause? Is it reform to deport, imprison and fine people by thousands and tens of thousands without trial? Is it reform to replace the Manama police by armed foreigners who have proved to be the principal mischief-mongers? Is it a reform to make Major Daly the centre of the legislative, the judiciary and the executive powers; for he is a legislator, a judge and an executor. Is it reform to abuse respectable persons on trial in commercial suits? Is it a reform to do away with all the courts and keep only one in a country like Bahrein to which tribunal should be submitted all complaints and petitions irrespective of their being summary or long causes, and irrespective of their being criminal or otherwise? and which will hold session only once or twice a week? Is it reform to transfer the revenue of the country to an English bank without the consent of the people, (though it is their money paid out of their pockets)? To conclude. Let us grant that all these are the reforms which the civilisation of the 20th century has determined and that Mr. Daly came to bring us the glad news of them. But is it lawful for a man to seize the house of another on the ground that it is in great need of reforms?

In fact, for real reforms the people have endeavoured and have been striving, but Major Daly blocked the way and came between them and their efforts for the country's good to such an extent that he transferred the Municipality, which is the outcome of the work and efforts of the people, to aliens who are hated by the people. As to the so-called reforms being executed in all circumstances. To that we do not, and will never, and we do not think Your Excellency would have forced it on us, if Your Excellency had been acquainted with the facts. We will try our best to preserve our self-respect, religion and country by all lawful means. Should force be interposed between us and the preservation of our religion and national honour, we will emigrate out of the country. Yes, we will leave the country with tears in our eyes and sighs heaving from our bosoms! and thousands have already emigrated 2 days ago to a place where they will not meet a despot like Mr. Daly. Yes, it is a matter of regret and the tribes of the Arab nation have certainly censured us for so doing, but there is no help. The Treaty is being trodden upon, law is being neglected, Government has been done away with, liberty is being infringed, honour is being scorned at, contempt is being poured down, complaints go unheard. These are the Reforms, they say, which are very badly wanted in Bahrein. Yes, there were faults in the government, but the people were striv-

(Continued on next page.)

CALL FOR UNITY.

(Continued from previous page.)

du-Muslim question would be solved and unity established between the two great communities, thereby ensuring an uninterrupted furtherance of the national cause in the future.

IN THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

DISCUSSION ON REVISION COMMITTEES' PROPOSALS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

COCANADA CAMP, Dec. 27.

When the subjects Committee of the Congress reassembled this afternoon, it was understood that the joint draft resolution of Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. Rajagopalachariar clarifying the position of the Congress in respect of Councils and adhering to the spirit of the Delhi compromise would come up for discusssion, but it did not. The latest information is that the oppositionists to the compromise resolution include Pandit Sundarial, Shyam Sundar Chakravarthi, Mr. Ramswami Naicker and Babu Gauri Shanker Misra, but it is believed that these will not succeed against the combined forces of the Swarajists under the leadership of Mr. C. R. Das the Non-Co-operation party of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and the compromise section. Informal discussions still continue with a view to ease the situation and it is probable that by to-morrow morning it will improve.

The Subjects Committee was engaged for nearly three hours this evening in consideration of minor questions relating to the constitution of the Congress. These arose out of the report submitted to the All-India Congress Committee by the committee appointed in the Delhi special Congress. The question of creed having been disposed of last night the committee took into consideration other recommendations contained in the Report. The suggestion of the committee to hold the Congress session every year in the last week of February or the first week of March instead of during the Christmas holidays was rejected and the existing practice maintained but the meeting adopted the suggestion of the committee that "In the Congress Committee on a requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees or of its own motion, provided that in the latter case due notice has been given and the proposal supported by two thirds of the members present, the All-India Congress Committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held and the articles of the constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committees may consider necessary in respect of each such session."

REVISION COMMITTEE'S PROPOSALS.

Discussion then turned round the proposal of the revision committee that the Central Provinces (Mahratti) and Berar be made into one province as they had everything in common and were small provinces. The opposition was led by Mr. Aney who pointed out that Berar was a separate unit ever since the Congress was founded and there was no necessity for amalgamating it with the Central Provinces. Moreover such an amalgamation would not be conducive to efficient work. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, convener of the revision committee, was prepared to withdraw the proposition in face of the opposition of things was allowed to continue as this stage Mr. Rajagopalachariar moved an amendment to the proposition by adding a proviso that the All-India Congress Committee may, from time to time, assign particular Indians States to a particular province. This amendment was, however, lost and as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru withdrew his proposition, the existing condition of things was allowed to continue undisturbed. A heated controversy then ensued on the motion of Abdul Samid Khan, a Madras delegate to the effect that Madras city be constituted into a separate province just like Bombay. Those who participated in the debate were mostly delegates from Tamil Nadu, the intervention of Andhras being in explanation of their own position and from one or two non-Madrasis who expressed the mind of the larger section of the house for getting out of the question without wasting much time. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar seconded the motion of Abdul Hamid Khan while Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar urged the matter be referred back to the Tamil Nadu and Andhra Congress Committees for report. As to the financial effect of separation several visled references made about the Tamil Nadu Committee, which had removed its headquarters from Madras to a moffusil district centre, and retorts were given that Madras workers collected money and spent it in hartals without much benefit to the movement. Mr. Srinivasaasa Iyengar and Mr. Rajagopalacahiar were both appealed to come to some agreement and settled question at this session in consultation with the members who had come from Tamil Nadu as well as the Andhra bretheren but Mr. Rajagopalachariar stood to his own proposition for reference of the matter back to the two Congress Committees for report. This suggestion was thrown out and the original motion of Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan was also defeated. The Committee then adjourned till to-morrow when the remaining recommendations of the Revision Committee will be considered as also the compromise resolution of Messrs. Rajagopalachariar and C. R. Das.

AMALGAMATION OF PUNJAB AND N. W. F.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

COCANADA, Dec. 28.

The Congress Subjects Committee resolved this morning by a large majority to amalgamate the Punjab and N. W. F. Provinces for the purpose of the Congress constitution. The advice of Mr. Rajagopalachari endorsed by that of Maulana Mahomed Ali to postpone the question till the opinions of both the communities in the two provinces were ascertained, was not heeded. Mr. Santanam said his proposition wanted only to legalise the existing practice. He was supported by Sjt. Amir Chand of the Frontier. Maulana Mahomed Ali pointed out that no Muslim member was present to voice before them the views of his community and the Hindu member from the Frontier who spoke only represented a small majority. The House he said was in ignorance in this matter and postponement was, therefore, necessary. He wanted to avoid any hasty decision which might further embitter the existing relations. When put to vote, very few voted against the amalgamation.

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

COCANADA, Dec. 27.

Informal discussions are still proceeding among Congress leaders on the joint draft resolution of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Mr. C. R. Das and the position has not improved while this draft resolution confirming the spirit of the Delhi Compromise and reaffirming the programme of Non-violent Non-Co-operation is meeting with support of a large body of No-Changers and the Compromise section, it is vigorously opposed by Pandit Sundarlal of the United Provinces, who, it is reported is making strenuous endeavours to get it so amended as to carry the programme back to what it was at the Nagpur Congress, namely, boycott of Councils, law courts and educational institutions and to push on the Constructive Programme more vigorously. It is believed that Mr. Mahomed Ali and other prominent leaders are anxious not to cause a split over this question, and that their counsels would eventually prevail. The fight would, however, be held in the Subjects Committee which meets this afternoon.

COCANADA'S RECEPTION TO LEADERS.

MUNICIPALITY PRESENTS WELCOME ADDRESSES.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

COCANADA, Dec. 27.

The Cocanada Municipality and Taluq Board have presented addresses of welcome to Maulana Mahomed Ali. This evening at 6 p.m. the Municipal Council presented a separate address to Deshbandhu Das. Another address by the ryots of the district was presented to Maulana Mahomed Ali. About three to four thousand persons were present in the Municipal compound when the addresses were presented. Those present on the dais included the Ali Brothers, Bi Amman and Begum Mahomed Ali, Deshbandhu Das, Dr. Ray, Messrs. Srinivas Iyangar, T. Prakasam and almost all leaders who are now in Cocanada. On arrival in the premises, the Ali Brothers and other leaders were accorded a splendid ovation. The Municipal addresses were read by Mr. Suryanarayana Murty, M. L. C., the Municipal Chairman. The address to Maulana Mahomed Ali referred to his labour in the cause of Hindu-Muslim Unity. The address to Deshbandhu and Mahomed Ali wished them long life to enable them to work for the salvation of the country. Maulana Mahomed Ali gave a joint reply to both the addresses in the course of which he said he knew the affection they had for him of which their addresses were a token. It was properly due to Mahatmaji and he would try to do all he could to further the cause which Mahatmaji had nearest to his heart. No community was above the nation. His religion made him all the more a lover of India. We all are now brothers in adversity, but we see signs of regeneration in that. He was sure that ere long we would all be brothers in prosperity. Deshbandhu Das thanked the members of the Municipal Council and said he wished he were worthy of what was said of him. He thanked them for wishing him long life and said he too wished to live for a few years more to realise the ideal he had before him to accomplish the work he had taken on himself.

UNFURLING THE NATIONAL FLAG.

MAHOMED ALI ON SYMBOL OF UNITY.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

COCANADA, Dec. 28.

Maulana Mahomed Ali unfurled the National Flag this morning at 7 a.m. on the flag staff erected in Gandhi Nagar. About ten thousand people attended among whom were Maulana Shaukat Ali, Bi Amman, Begam Mahomed Ali, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Messrs. K. Venkatappiah and Vallabhbhai Patel, and other prominent leaders. On being called upon to unfurl the flag, Maulana Mahomed Ali made a brief speech: "This flag is nothing if it is not the Flag of Freedom—of unity among the different peoples of India. Before hoisting this flag, I put it to the people, 'Are you prepared to stand by Indian nationality to guard the honour and prestige of the flag from attacks both of foreigners and our own people?'" On being replied in one voice they were ready to do so, the Maulana asked the people to forget their differences, religious and political. "If you solemnly pledge to forget all those differences, then and then only, ask me to unfurl this flag. Down with differences that demoralise us, down with rancour, down with ill-will. Are you prepared?"

Reply:—"We are all prepared."

"I call God to witness this." Then he unfurled the flag amidst tremendous cheers and cries of "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jay." A flag procession in which all leaders joined then started from the flag staff.

THE LIBRARY-MOVEMENT.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

COCANADA, Dec. 26.

The All-India Libraries Exhibition organised by the Andhra Desi Library Association was opened this morning by Mr. N. Subbarow Chetty. There was a large gathering present including Mr. M. [illegible] Jayakar, Rao Saheb, Librarian of the Bombay University. Mr. Amin of the Baroda State Library, Mr. Joshi and Mr. V. V. Ganekar. The President in his speech referred to the progress made by the Library Movement in Andhra country. The movement had been inaugurated by Mr. S. V. Narasimha Sastri of Bezvada. In India as a whole the library movement, however, had lagged behind. Among the Indian Rulers, H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda had done much to advance the Library movement in his State and great credit was due to him. The speaker hoped that, throughout India the importance of the Library movement would be recognised as a potent instrument for national progress and acted upon at the All-India Libraries Conference which met at noon.

LALA GIRDHARILAL'S MESSAGE TO MAHOMED ALI.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

AMRITSAR, Dec. 27.

Lala Girdharilal of Amritsar has sent the following telegram to Maulana Mahomed Ali, President of the Congress, Cocanada:—"Regret inability to attend. Wish hearty congratulations and complete success to the session under your guidance. Pray avoid opening the council question. Change in the Delhi decision will divide the Congress. The need of the hour is Hindu-Muslim unity without which all other work is fruitless. All attention must be concentrated on this and the Basic constructive programme promoting the spirit and essentials of non-violent Non-Co-operation. It is imperative to lay down deep and lasting foundations for the future superstructure. Till this is not seriously attempted and accomplished, to talk of mass civil disobedience would be to court ridicule and failure. The present session should not touch the national pact which requires wider circulation and publicity. Opinions of different communal bodies should be invited on the same before final adoption after mature consideration. My humble opinion is that all separate organisations must be abolished forthwith. Hindus and Mahomedans should direct all their energies for Congress propaganda alone. Alteration in the creed is not desirable as the present one is comprehensive for all purposes."

PRESS COMMENTS ON PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

LAHORE, Dec. 28.

Commenting on the Congress presidential address, the "Tribune" says:—The address is brilliant, penetrating, forceful and elegant. The length of the address is no bar to its being a rare intellectual treat. Not a sentence jars on the ear, not a phrase suggests that the writer is using language which is not his own or of which he has not a perfect mastery. The paper, however, considers the condemnation by the President of the Muslim aggressors in some recent riots as insufficient, and adds that on the question of communal representation the President unhappily does not sound a very clear note.

The "Muslim Outlook" says:—"With its bulk the address combines the virtue of being as instructive as it is interesting to read. As a piece of historical study it furnishes much food for thought and as a specimen of literary penmanship it deserves perhaps to rank with works of the greatest masters of English prose.

AKALI DEMONSTRATIONS

OVERFLOW DIWAN

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

COCANADA, Dec. 27.

An overflow Akali Diwan was held this morning where the Congress and Khilafat leaders spoke at length. In order to be understood by all, each speech was interpreted in Hindustani, Telugu and English. Mr. Rajagopalachariar characterised the Akalis as the only living wing of the National movement. The Akalis were he said, the strongest community in India to-day, not because of their wealth or numbers, but because of the triumph of Satyagraha of which they had given full proof. Mr. Mahomed Ali said when he headed the Khilafat Deputation to Europe he told the Pope that the war was between faith and rapaciousness of man. between the Cross and the Crescent but The Pope replied that the war was not between faith and infidelity. The speaker asked all communities to combine with the Akalis in their fight for faith.

Maulana Shaukat Ali said the Andhras were the first people who helped the establishment of British rule in India. The next help came from the Sikhs and his own community. He hoped that they would now combine to wash off their sins and work for freedom.

Mr. Mangalsingh assured that the Akalis were determined to the last man to see the fight through in perfect non-violence.

ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF AKALI PRISONERS.

FARIDKOT DENIES CHARGES.

(By our Special Representative.)

AMRITSAR, Dec. 26.

Considerable interest attaches to the general meeting of the S. P. G. C. fixed for 7th January at Akaltakht, being the first meeting after the general arrests and declaration. The Faridkot administration has issued a Press Note denying the charges of ill-treatment of prisoners and warning all concerned about "manufacture of false news", but Faridkot officials have themselves to thank if exaggerated news gains currency when they refuse the opportunity of verification to responsible people. The S. G. P. C. recently deputed two of its members who applied to the President of the Faridkot administration to interview the prisoners in view of persistent reports of ill-treatment, but the permission was refused. Let Faridkot and Patiala be warned that "manufacture of news" flourishes where the morbid desire for secrecy prevails. In their own interests they must allow, nay arrange for an impartial inquiry. In view of the increasing demand for news from Amritsar, a National News Bureau is being started by Lala Durgadas, late Superintendent of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee's office, who has recently returned from jail. The Bureau proposes to keep agents at important centres in the Punjab.

KHILAFAT WORKERS.

(Continued from page 7.)

hatma Gandhi were all known to the public. The work was spoiled in the absence of the workers. No worker remained. Weak minded Mahomedans and Hindus came out in great numbers to destroy the soul-invigorating movement of liberty. No movement of the world and specially that of freedom and liberty was without its ups and downs. If they had victory to-day, to-morrow they would get defeat but the courageous, patient, and persevering nations always got victory in the long run. America fought for her freedom for 8 years. In the seventh year of that war, America had for her army neither clothes nor money. No one was willing to take the national notes. The soldiers were flying to their respective houses in distress. Even the Commander-in-Chief, took a bribe of £30,000 from England and left the country in distress. In spite of all these, in the eighth year, small groups of brave men were formed and with great courage, patience, and perseverance began to fight the English. At the end of the 8th year they turned out the English from America. The pride of the English men which found expression in the Tea Party at Boston vanished away. The English are up to this time repenting for it and admit their mistake. The British committed the same mistake in the case of Ireland and were repeating it on a large scale in the case of India. If that would not be rectified, the result would be similar i.e. those who fight for truth and liberty always succeed. Let them remember the events of Karbala and see what the Abbasides had done. Now there was no trace of the Bani Umyades and their tombs. What happened in America, in the French Revolution, and in Ireland and what was happening to-day in Egypt? If they were faithful and persevering in their efforts—which they were—they were bound to receive from God that help, which led to victory. They could now see the glimpses of it.

TIME FOR WORK.

The present was the time for work. God His angels, and the prophets were looking at them. Their beloved Prophet, seeing the sacrilege of the Holy places and their helpless but brave attitude, was praying that the great God might give us the victory—such victory as would preserve the prestige of Sultan Abdul Majid Khan—may God perpetuate his country and his greatness—and having united the whole Islamic world at one common centre of the Khilafat, Muslims might keep the Holy Places and the Religion safe and free from all impure and heretic influences.

Since he came out of the jail, he had been touring, inspecting very minutely the work of the Khilafat Committees. He found the bonds loosened but the links yet remained. He would tell the able and experienced workers of India that it was not the time for thinking but in the words of the poet:

To part with the beloved, to part with the heart,
I am now thinking what to do.

Stand up and make a brave dash for the last effort.

How the intoxicated one is going towards the place of killing,
Just see the attitude of the lover who has trifled with his life.

He had every hope that in a few weeks the resolution and the schemes of the work which would be presented to them, would change the situation. An army of workers in the name of God would be formed. Hearing the voice of a weak, humble brother, the heart of every true Mahomedan would be affected and he would shout out:

"Anyone should see whether it is the same wretched Dagh,
The bewailing of someone is making me restless.

ALLOWANCE TO WORKERS.

Proceeding the Maulana said, he considered it his duty to inform them of his ideas regarding a certain matter. Before his eyes there were many workers who had denied themselves all the pleasures of life and had spent all that they had for the cause. Now they were in great distress and wanted to retire. These men having given their whole time to the Khilafat movement did not want to accept low reward wherewith they might support their family. They had given thousands of rupees but did not want to take any back. He was sorry to say that the very thing on account of which they wanted to retire and which they hesitated to take from the Khilafat Fund was attributed to them by some of the workers. The result of that was that those able workers were leaving the Khilafat movement. In the words of Ghalib,

See, he is also saying that I am shameless and notorious,
Had I been aware of this I would not have given away the effects of my house.

He would not approve of that attitude but would ask them to remedy that defect. It was quite true that whenever any great movement was started many men of bad principles and weak ideas had joined it. Some times loss of money had also been incurred But those inevitable things had to be faced, without stopping the work. Should they then close the shop of Islam simply because of some difficulties, or of some mistakes which had been exaggerated by their enemies for the detriment of their work? Should they compel the true soldiers of Islam to withdraw from the battlefield by annoying them? In his opinion the time had come when their leaders should come forward and set an example fir others so that an army of soldiers might spring up.

He hoped they would excuse him if he said with pride that from the very first day to the time of his going to jail he had not spent more than Rs. 2,500, which he could gather in one day's tour or in a few minutes in Bombay without any effort. He hoped that the Conference would think over it and would make some suitable arrangement for the maintenance of workers in distress. Then, Maulana Shaukat Ali, paid a tribute to Maulana Hasrat Mohani and said that whenever he saw the condition of Khilafat Committees, his memory came crowding upon him. He was the bravest among us and ten yards ahead of us. To-day he was happy in Yeravda Jail and might be saying to himself:—

They are killing me for the crime of your love and so there is a great noise,
You should also come to your roof to see this pleasant sight.

The tortures to which the Government had put Hasrat Mohani and his other friends could produce no effect upon them. His poetry was a lesson for them:—

How can we create a taste like ours in others
We are more tired of the disinterestedness of our companions.
Our goal is not very far away,
But not when we left behind our caravan.

And for them he says:—

The highest degree of despair is also the beginning of love.
We came again to the place whence we started.

The Central Khilafat Committee, proceeded the Maulana, should take in its hand the management of all those committees which had become weak and supply the workers where needed. Some of his friends had given word to take an active part in the movement. May God crown their efforts with success

KHILAFAT DEPUTATION.

As regards the Khilafat, they had asked the Government for passports for the Deputations, which they were sending to Constantinople, Angora, Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Palestine Syria, and other Islamic countries. The Government of India had enquired the names of members of the Deputations and the routes of their journey which would be sent shortly. They could arrive at a true knowledge of conditions regarding the Khalifa only when the Deputations returned. He did not want to attack the personality of His Highness the Aga Khan or Mr. Syed Amin Ali. Those two men had great love for Islam and were serving it in their own ways. Service to Islam was not reserved for any sect. Nevertheless they should keep in mind that one thing which His Highness had told Syed Wazir Hussain, late Secretary of the Muslim League and Mahommed Ali. Its purport was "i cannot serve the religion, the country, and the nation so much as you or your brother, or Mr. Gokhale is doing. These men have no other work save this. You should expect only so much help from me as the Englishmen give to their country."

Tha was His Highness' frank statement. Taking it into consideration, he would tell His Highness that being far away from India and not knowing thoroughly the feelings of Indian Muslims it was not proper to give opinion on any intricate problem, even though that opinion might be a right opinion.

The Khilafat Deputation, in the capacity of the representative of the whole of India, would wait upon Khalifatul Muslamin, servant of Harmain Sharifain—may God perpetuate his Kingdom and increase his prestige—and also upon Saiful Islam Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, as well as upon the brave Turks whose courage, perseverance, bravery, and ability saved Islam from a great danger.

MULSHI SATYAGRAHA.

CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED AGAIN.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

BADNERA, Dec. 27.

Satyagraha campaign has again been launched at Mulshi against the construction of a dam by the Tata Company. A number of Satyagrahis are reported to have courted arrest by stopping the train which carried labourers.

JAPANESE CABINET CRISIS

RESIGNATION OF GOVERNMENT.

LONDON, Dec. 27.

Tokyo.—The Government has resigned. The Police frustrated the efforts of ruffians to enter the residences of Premier Yamamoto and Home Minister Goto.—Reuter.

ATTACK ON JAPANESE REGENT.

GENERAL ROUND-UP OF ANARCHISTS.

LONDON, Dec. 28.

Tokyo.—The Regent's assailant, Daisuke Namba, a student, whose circumstances compelled him to work as a labourer, was interested in Communist propaganda. He declared he had no associate. Namba was seriously handled by the crowd before the police effected his arrest.

New York.—A message from Tokyo states that Namba, a twenty-four-year old Socialist, son of a senator, and also two accomplices were arrested in connection with the attack on the Regent. A general round-up of anarchists has begun.—Reuter.

PROTECTION TO SOCIALIST.

The residence of Minister Goto, who is accused of Socialistic tendencies since he invited the Soviet Envoy Joffle to come to Japan, and Socialist centres of the city are closely guarded for fear of Anti-Socialist outbreaks.—Reuter.

OCTOBER DISTURBANCES

POLICE PREFECT EXPELLED.

LONDON, Dec. 27.

Dusseldorf.—The Courtmartial trying the Green police in connection with the disturbances of October last arising out of the Separatist movement, has sentenced Grunzner, Prefect of Police, to expulsion and twenty years' hard labour. Others have been sentenced to varying terms including ten years' solitary confinement.—Reuter.

It is understood that Khan Bahadar Fakruddin and Mr. Ganesh Dutt Singh have been reappointed as education Minister and Minister in charge of local self-government respectively.

PLIGHT OF JAZIRAT-UL-ARAB.

(Continued from previous page.)

ing after reforms and the then Government agreed to carry out their wishes. The proof of that may be found in the petitions sent to Shaikh Isa one after another. But the Consul always came between Shaikh Isa and the reforms to be introduced and every body knows that 2 years ago the people united a required parliament to which Shaikh Isa agreed. Then who but the Consul thwarted the proposal? Did any person other than the Consul, who hates Arabs from the bottom of his heart, come in the way then?

Your Excellency, Bahrein has a minority of the Shia community. The clerk of the Consulate started dictating to them statements expressing gratitude and support. Mr. Daly and they wrote them against their will and under pressure and some of them wrote them for self-interest. Are these the reforms, justice and organisation? Orders are signed in the name of Shaikh Hamad whereas he himself declared before the delegates of the people the day before yesterday that he was compelled by Major Daly to put his signature to them. So we seize this opportunity to submit to Your Excellency a copy of the resolutions of the Congress of Bahrein, enclosed herein, which was held on the 15th Rabi-ul-awwal 1342 A.H.

We have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient
Servants,

Sd./- Abdul Wahhab bin Haji Zayyani.
Abdul Latif bin Mahmud.
Abdulla bin Ibrahim Sayed.
Hussein bin Ali Almannai.
Mohamed bin Rashid bin Hindi.
Ahmed bin Kasim Aljohdar.
Shahin bin Sakkar Al Jalahama.
Isa bin Ahmed Addoshari.
Ahmed bin Lahej.
Mohanna bin Fazal Annaimee.
Zabar bin Mohamed Al Muslim.
Mohamed bin Sabah Al Ibne Ali.
The delegates of the people selected unanimously by them.

After three days the delegates were invited to the Consulate. When they took their seats, Mr. A.B. Trevor addressed them in a dry tone as follows:—

To the 12 persons who are the signatories of the petition which was presented on Thursday last.

You have presented the petition and do not see that it is necessary to give you a reply to it since I have already replied to your former petition and because it contains some words which are not proper. But after considering your mention of the possibility of emigration from Bahrein I thought of inviting you and informing you in clear terms that His Majesty's Government does not approve of such a thing. On the other hand, His Majesty's Government would afford full assistance to the Shaikh Hamad in every reasonable action that he would like to take in order to prevent you from leaving your country. Likewise it would assist Shaikh Hamad in punishing those who will not obey his orders. We have already intimated to the neighbouring Arab Rulers the views of His Majesty's Government and have instructed them not to accept the people of Bahrein and not to give them shelter in their dominions. So should any of the people, after thus being warned, leave Bahrein they would be held responsible for the consequences that would reflow their departure as mentioned below.

1. Their property will be confiscated.
2. Certificates of redemption will be granted to all professional pearl divers.
3. Their boats will be prevented from continuing diving vocation in the sea.

So beware and submit yourselves to the orders of Shaikh Hamad and understand that the advice of the Consul of Bahrein to Shaik Hamad is recognised by His Majesty's Government and under its supervision and consent. The New Reforms have done no harm to you or to anybody else. Nay it is a continuous organisation of affairs and it is right and just, and none but the self-interested fear; whereas those who are not such rejoice for right and justice.

Then Shaikh Abdulwahhab Az-zayyani and Ahmad bin Lahej were taken into custody without the exchange of a single word, not to speak of a trial and were taken to an English man-of-war and were deported we know not whither.

It should be mentioned here that the Foreign Ministry and the Colonial Ministry of Great Britain have not replied even in a word to the Telegraphic protests despatched to them by Shaikh Isa and the people. Perhaps the readers are aware of the protests which was published by Shaikh Mahomed bin Abdulla Al Khalifa in the papers. They are the facts, to write which is a legal right but Major Daly fined him Rs. 5000 on the penalty of confiscating his property which amount he exacted and added to the revenue of the Customs in the Eastern Bank. The English say that they stand for the abolition of slavery, then what about their representatives who enslave us in a way we cannot bear? They say too that they are the friends of the Arabian people, then what about their representatives who make us drink the cups of humiliation and deception? Whom should we approach for help and whom should we ask for assistance? Oh, you English people. Have mercy on us in our own hearths and home. If you hate our laws while you are powerful, then do us justice by your own laws; and if we are inferior then according to the Indian law, and if we are still inferior, then by the laws of Ethiopians.

BAHRANI.

Bahrein.
Date 30th Rabiul-av-val 1342 A. H.

CHURCH RE-UNION.

HEATED DISCUSSION AMONG CHURCHMEN.

Canterbury.—Disclosures regarding the Anglican and Roman Catholic Church Reunion have evoked a lively discussion. Leading churchmen here interviewed have expressed the opinion that while the reunion must necessarily be a very slow process, discussions cannot be harmful. Indeed, they indicate a substantial advance. The Non-conformists express the opinion that the success of the negotiations is very unlikely and declare that the re-union will shatter the Church of England.—Reuter.

Fremantle.—The fire on the "Moldavia" has been extinguished. Number Three hold is being pumped out. A portion of the cargo will be landed here. The hull is apparently undamaged.—Reuter.

COMMERCIAL.

MONEY MARKET.

EXCHANGE QUOTATIONS.

Bombay, Dec. 28.

B C RATE—
Bank's selling T T 1/5 3/16
Bank's selling D D 1/5 7/32
LONDON—
Bank's selling T T 1/5 7/32
Bank's selling D D 1/5 1/4
Bank's buying 3 M/st D A 1/5 1/2
Bank's buying T T 1/5 9/32
Bank's buying D D 1/5 5/16
PARIS—
Bank's selling D D Frcs 588
Bank's buying 3 M/st D A Frcs 638
Bank's buying D D Frcs 628
JAPAN—
Bank's selling T T Rs. 149¼
Bank's buying 60 D/st D P Rs. 143½
HONGKONG—
Bank's selling D D Rs. 165
SHANGHAI—
Bank's selling D D Rs. 237
SINGAPORE—
Bank's selling D D Rs. 165
NEW YORK—
Bank's selling D D Rs. 323
CROSS RATES—
London—New York Dol. 4.34-3/4
London—Paris Frcs 85.00
London—Switzerland Frcs. 24.80
London—Brussels Frcs. 96.30
London—Rome Liras 100.00
London—Berlin Marks Nil.
TONE OF EXCHANGE—Steady Market.

London, Dec. 27.

Telegraph Transfers	1/5 9/32
Bar Gold	£ 4 15/1 Quiet
Bar Silver Spot	33 9/16 Quiet

LOCAL QUOTATIONS.

Bombay Dec. 28. Market Rates.

Bank Telegraphic	1-5 7/32
Bank Demand	1-5 1/4
Doc. Acceptance 3m/s	1-5 7/32
Fcs. Demand	585
American Dollars	323
Hongkong Dollars	165
Shanghai	237
Japan	150
Singapore	165

Market Steady.

London, Dec. 27.

Rentes 3 per cent.	53 1/4
Bar Silver Spot	33 9/16
,, ,, 2 months hence	32 7/8

Closing Tone of Silver—Little India buying—Short supplies.—Very Quiet.
Discount, Bank of England Rate 4 per cent since 5th July 1923.
Interest day to day loans ... 1 1/2
Interest 7 day Market loans ... 2 7/8

EXCHANGE ON CONTINENTAL CENTRES MIDDLE QUOTATIONS.

London, Dec. 27.

Exchange on London in Paris	85.05
,, ,, ,, ,, Germany	18,300,000,000,000
,, ,, ,, ,, Italy	100.10
Stockholm	16.47
Christiania	29.43
Amsterdam	11.46
Switzerland	24.84
Belgium	..
Athens	..

DISCOUNTS.

LONDON, Dec. 27.

DISCOUNT Bank Bills 3 m/st	3 7/16
,, Indian Bank Bills 6 m/st	3 1/2
,, Fine Trade Bills 3 ,,	4 1/2
,, ,, ,, ,, 6 ,,	4 3/4
Rentes 5 per cent	24 1/8

WAR LOANS, ETC.

London, Dec. 27.

Funding Loan 4% 1960/90	£ 86 3/4
Victory Bonds 4%	£ 91 1/8+1/8
War Loan 5% 1929/47	£ 99 7/8+1/16
Consols 2 1/2%	£ 55 3/8—1/8
Rupee Paper 3 1/2%	,, 42 1/2
Indian Stock 3 1/2% (Sterling Loan)	,, 65 1/2
Govt. Securities 3%	,, 56

London, Dec. 27.

Conversion Loan	£ 75 7/8
5 1/2 per cent. Indian Loan	,, 100
7 per cent. Indian	,, 114

BULLION.

Bombay, Dec. 28.

Sovereigns ready Rs. 15/12
Sovereigns forward Rs. 15/13
Bar gold ready Rs. 25/3
Bar gold forward Rs. 25/2/6
Bar gold 2nd settlement Rs. 25/2/3
Bar silver ready Rs. 79/7
Bar silver 1st settlement Rs. 79/7
Bar silver 2nd settlement Rs. 79/14

London, Dec. 27.

Bar gold ready s. 95-1
Silver ready d. 32-9
Silver forward d. 32-14

TONE OF SILVER—
Quiet and steady, India bought, London speculators selling.

GOLD.

Bombay, Dec. 28.

Ready:—25—3—0

Vaida.	Opening	Highest	Lowest.	At 6 p.m.
Magsar	25—3—6	..	—	25—2—6
Posh	25—3—3	..	—	25—2—3

Teji Mandi.
Magsar —
Posh 0—4—6
Tone.—Market Steady.

LIFE ASSURANCE
is a necessity and
COSTS NOTHING
All your money comes back to you on maturity with liberal Bonus additions.
Write to:—
THE BOMBAY LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED,
67, Apollo St., Fort.

BOMBAY MARKET.

COTTON.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

Dec. 28.

To-day Reuter reported 12 to 25 points lower in New York futures. Early the market advanced on Commission and Spot Houses buying, but later eased on Wall St. and local traders selling. Liverpool has been reported 59 to 72 points up. The advance was due to good scattered buying.

Messrs. Breul & Co's Liverpool friends Messrs. Reynolds and Gibson cable under date 27th instant (4-40 p.m.) as under:—

"Market has a good undertone and think will be higher after holidays."

In sympathy with the lower advices in New York futures the Marwari Bazar opened easier this morning at Rs. 654½ i.e. Rs. 6½ lower than yesterday's closing rate for F G Broach April/May. At the opening Offices, Commission Houses and Shroffs were buyers which raised the prices to Rs. 657½. On some long liquidation the market gave way to Rs. 654 at which rate the bazar closed at 1 p.m.

Fine Oomra December/January opened at Rs. 625¼ and going down by a rupee improved to Rs. 626 on buying by Offices. Selling by one Japanese House caused a setback and the market closed at Rs. 622 at 1 p.m. Oomra March opened at Rs. 619½ and declined to Rs. 617 on Commission Houses selling, but again recovered to Rs. 619 on buying by a Japanese firm, and finally closed at Rs. 615 on Offices selling. F G Bengal December/January was quoted nominally Rs. 541 whilst March Rs. 537.

Our market for ready cotton was steady yesterday with good inquiry for immediate shipment, and about 4,000 bales are reported to have changed hands.

At Sewri the markets are closed to-day for forward and ready business owing to Jain holiday.

NEW YORK AND LIVERPOOL

MESSRS. PATEL BROTHERS' REPORT.

Dec. 28.

New York Market 27th December, 1923.

Previous close	Delivery	Last known Prices in Liverpool.	Closing Prices	Since Previous close.
35.70	Jan.	35.98+28	35.51	—19
36.05	Mar.		35.93	—1 23
36.21	May	35.57+36	36.08	—1
35.43	July		35.18	—25
	Oct		29.17	

Telegraphic market advices: March highest 36.43, lowest 35.93, range .50 points. Smaller market. Spot houses and Commission houses buying, early met realizing, Wall St. selling and local traders selling. Tone of market good.

Liverpool Market 27th December, 1923.

Previous Close.	Delivery	Opening Prices at 11 a.m.	Closing Prices.	Since previous close
20.41	Jan.	21.07+66	21.13	+72
20.37	Mar.	21.00+63	21.04	+67
20.16	May		20.78	+62
19.66	July		20.25	+59
16.45	Oct.		16.9[illegible]	+44
23.10	Egyptian Jan. 1924		23.75	+65
21.58	,, Nov. ,,		22.25	+67

Telegraphic market advices: (1) New York cables: "good undertone, expect higher market. Would buy on recessions."

(2) Fairly good scattered buying, long liquidation at the advance.

(3) American cross rate 435. March highest 21.12, lowest 20.96, range .16 points. Very steady market. Scattered buying. Shortage of contracts.

Liverpool, Dec. 27.

	Bales
Total day's Sales at Liverpool	4000
,, ,, Sales on Spec. & for Exp.	—
,, ,, Sales of East Indian	100
,, ,, Imports	—

EGYPTIAN Future prices

Mid. Americans Spot Moderate request		21.28
Egyptian F. G. F. Sakels		24.30
New York 11 a. m.	Mar.	36.36
(As known in Liverpool at	May	36.52
closing time.)	July	35.70
New Orleans 10 a. m.	Mar.	36 22
	Jan.	36.21

Liverpool, Dec. 27. To-day's prices.

Cotton Del. M. U. G. O. C. Liverpool.	Jan.	21.13 +72
	Mar.	21.04 +67
	May	20.78 +52
	July	20.25 +59

SILVER.

Bombay, Dec. 28.

Ready:—79—14—0

Vaida	Opening	Highest.	Lowest.	At 6 p.m.
Magsar	79-12-0	..	—	79-6-0
Posh	80-2-0	—	..	79-13-0

Teji Mandi.
Magsar —
Posh 1—4—0
Tone—Market Quiet.

BOMBAY STOCK EXCHANGE.

GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

Bombay, Dec. 28.

3½ per cent Government Paper Rs. 63/2
4 per cent Conversion Loan Rs. 83
5 per cent War Loan Rs. 90/10
5 per cent Loan due 1933 Rs. 96
5 per cent Loan due 1945-55 Rs. 95/2
5½ per cent Bonds due 1925 102/4
5½ per cent Bonds due 1926 Rs. 102/8
6 per cent Bonds due 1927 100/10
6 per cent Bonds due 1930 Rs. 101/12
6 per cent Bonds due 1932 Rs. 102/14
6½ per cent Bombay Development Loan due 1935 Rs. 106
4 per cent Port Trust due 1974 Rs. 74/4
6 per cent Port Trust due 1930 Rs. 101
4 per cent Municipal due 1974 Rs. 74
6 per cent Municipal due 1929-49 Rs. 101
4 per cent Improvement Trust due 1974 Rs. 74

SHARES.

Bombay, Dec. 28.

The share market remained closed to-day.

SHARES

LONDON, Dec. 27.

Chartered Bank	£ 19 3/8
Hongkong	,, 124 1/2
National	,, 42
Eastern	,, 53/8
P. & O. Banking Corp.	,, 12

OPENING TONE AND PRICES.

Liverpool, Dec. 27.

Future delivery prices:—

Months	To-day's Prices
Dec.	—
Jan.	21.04 +53
Feb.	21.00 +63
Mar.	21.03 +66
April	—
May	20.18 +65
June	—
July	20.24 +54
Aug.	—
Sept.	—
Oct.	16.88 +43
Nov.	—
Egyptians Jan.	23.75
March.	23.95
May.	24.00

CLOSING PRICES.

Liverpool, Dec. 27.

Months.	To-day's Prices
Dec.	21.12 +7[illegible]
Jan.	21.13 +[illegible]
Feb.	21.04 +[illegible]
Mar.	21.04 +67
April	20.86 +66
May	20.78 +62
June	20.48 +60
July	20.25 +59
Aug.	19.31 +[illegible]
Sept.	18.74 +52
Oct.	16.89 +44
Nov.	16.54 +44
Dec.	15.39 +[illegible]

Tone—Quiet.

ADDITIONAL QUOTATIONS—COTTON.

Liverpool. Dec. 27.

M. G. Bengal, Good	13.90
,, ,, Fully Good	14.30
,, ,, Fine	14.70
No. 1 Oomra, Good	14.10
,, ,, ,, Fully Good	15.60
,, ,, ,, Fine	15.10
M. G. Broach, Good	17.25
,, ,, Fully Good	17.60
,, ,, Fine	18.00
M. G. Scinde, Good	13.80
,, ,, Fully Good	14.20
,, ,, Fine	14.60

EGYPTIAN COTTON—CLOSING PRICES.

Liverpool, Dec. 27.

Months	To-day's Price.
Dec	2[illegible] +65
Jan.	23.75 +65
Feb.	23.88 +65
Mar.	24.00 +[illegible]
April	24.10 +[illegible]
May	24.10 +[illegible]
June	24.21 +64
July	24.23 +64
Aug.	23.90 +52
Sept.	23.50 +32
Oct.	23.50 +62
Nov.	22.25 +33

AMERICAN COTTON MARKET.

New York, Dec 27. To-day's prices.

Futures at New York.	Jan.	35.51 +29
	Mar.	35.93 +12
	May	36.0[illegible] +13
	July	35.[illegible] —25

AMERICAN MARKETS.

New York, Dec. 27.

Day's Receipts at all U.S. Ports	47,000
,, Exports to Great Britain	—
,, ,, Continent	—
Futures at New York Jan.	35.[illegible]
,, ,, Mar.	[illegible]
,, ,, May	[illegible]
,, ,, July	[illegible]
Spot Cotton at New York	[illegible]
Spot Cotton at New Orleans	36.00 —.25
Futures ,, ,, Mar.	36.10 —.15
,, ,, ,, May	35.76 —.15
Fair Rio Coffee (No. 7 quality)	10 3/4
Silver Foreign mined	64 1/4
Silver Commercial Bars.	—

WHEAT.

London, Dec. 27.

ROZARIO SANTA FE—62 1/2 lbs. J/F Paid.	41/3
BARLETTA RUSSO—62 1/2 lbs. J/F Buyers	40/9
AUSTRALIAN D/J Paid Sellers	44/6
KARACHI BARLEY D/J	31/3
WHEAT Choice White Karachi, per 480 lbs. C.I.F. D/J Buyers	44/6

WHEAT AND SEEDS.

Bombay, Dec. 28.

The following are to-day's closing rates as issued by the Bombay Grain Merchants Association:—

Ready.	Bazar Terms. Rs. a. p.	Rail Delivery. Rs. a. p.
Wheat, White Delhi 70-30	41 0 0	6 8 0
Wheat, White Cawnpore 70-30	39 0 0	6 5 0
Wheat, Karachi Bangla	43 0 0	6 12 0
Rapeseed, Brown Delhi	10 4 0	10 12 0
Rapeseed, Brown Cawnpore	10 4 0	10 12 0
Rapeseed, Yellow Cawnpore	11 4 0	11 12 0
Linseed, Brown Bold	13 12 0	14 4 0
Linseed, Brown Thin	13 4 0	13 12 0
Teelseed, White 85-15	82 0 0	16 0 0
Teelseed, Gajar 75-25	75 0 0	15 0 0
Teelseed, Gajar 50-50	70 0 0	14 0 0
Teelseed, Black	68 0 0	13 10 0
Poppyseed, White	12 12 0	12 8 0
Groundnuts	71 0 0	
Mowraseed	9 0 0	9 4 0
Barley	30 0 0	
Castorseed	22 0 0	14 8 0
Cotton Seeds Ready Delivery	39 8 0	5 11 0
Forward.	Rs. a. p.	
Wheat, April/May	[illegible] 4 3	
Linseed, April/May	12 14 9	
Groundnuts D. J.	71 0 0	
Teelseed Gajar 85-15 D/J	15 14 0	

JAVA SUGAR

London, Dec. 27.

Fine White Java C. & F. Calcutta Dec. Sellers	32/9
Fine White Java C & F Calcutta July. Sellers	24/6
July/Sept. Sellers	24/
Fine White Java C. & F. Bombay July Sellers	24/10
Fine White Java C. & F. Karachi July Sellers	24/10

METALS.

London, Dec. 27.

English best Selected Copper	£ 66.—
Standard Copper G. M. B.	,, 61 5/8
Copper Braziers	,, 83.—
Yellow Metal	,, 7 3/4
Hard Spelter	,, 29
Corrugate sheets	£ 18 3/4

METAL—LOCAL MARKET. BRASS.

Bombay, Dec. 28.

	per md.	Rs. a. p.
Brass, English	3/4	66 0 0
Brass	1/	[illegible]
Brass	1 1/2	[illegible]
Brass	[illegible]	[illegible]
Brass	[illegible]	[illegible]
Brass	2	[illegible] 14 0

COPPER.

Bombay, Dec. 28.

		Rs. a. p.
Copper, English	3/4	[illegible] 0 0
Copper	1/	71 0 0
Copper	1 1/4	[illegible] 0 0
Copper	1/2	[illegible]
Copper, American	[illegible]	[illegible]
Copper	3/4	[illegible]
Copper	[illegible]	[illegible]
Japanese Copper Bars	[illegible]	[illegible]
Patch Teka Joint	[illegible]	[illegible]
Copper, English Bars	[illegible]	[illegible]
Brass Bars	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fat Khea	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lead, Country	[illegible]	[illegible]
German Brass M 3/4	[illegible]	[illegible]
German Brass I, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] 4 0
English Copper I [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] 0
American Copper [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] 0

LINSEED.

[illegible] Dec 27

LINSEED Calcutta Fully Bold [illegible] Apl./May Nomin [illegible] £ 19 1/4
Tone
Dull and downward tendency.
RAW LINSEED OIL Naked spot not

,,	Dec. Buyers	£ 41 5/8
,,	Jan./Apl. Paid	38 5/8

[illegible] Dec. 27.
Demand Bills [illegible] 1334/4

[illegible] Dec. 27.
Freight of Coal Cardiff [illegible] 18/

[illegible]
Para Rubber Fine Hard [illegible] Jan-Mar. 13 1/2
Plantation First Latex Crepe Jan. 14 1/2

RECEIPTS.

Bombay Dec. 28.

The following are the receipts of Cotton produce etc., for the 48 hours ending 4 p.m. on Dec. 27 1923.

Cotton	29157 Bales
Wheat	[illegible]
Linseed	[illegible]
Rape, etc	[illegible]
Gingellyseed	[illegible]
Poppyseed	283
Groundnuts	14625
Castorseed	[illegible]
Rice	[illegible]
Myrabollams	[illegible]
Cottonseed	[illegible]
Mowraseed	[illegible]
Gram	1022
Jawar	528
Masur	242
Barley	873
Bajri	5723
Coal	347 Tons

THE EAST INDIA COTTON ASSN. LTD.

COTTON STATISTICS.

Bombay 27th December [illegible]

	1923-24.	1922-23.	Increase.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Receipts from 1st Sept. 1923 to 24th Dec. 1923	[illegible]	379770	[illegible]
Shipments for the bi-week from 21st Dec. to 24th Dec. 1923.			
Europe	12131	13814	+4717
China, Japan & Coast Ports	4191	2600	+1591
Total	27922	16414	+5908
Total shipments from 1st September 1923 to 24th Dec. 1923.			
Europe	319105	201436	+117759
China	19727	9204	+10523
Japan	174308	310375	—136067
Coast Ports	9712*	10234	—522
Total	522942	531249	—8307
Afloat in harbour Europe	4721	11553	—6832
,, China, Japan and Coast Ports	96347	31439	+64908

*Including 3733 bales for U. S. of America.

NOTE:—The figures of shipments are prepared carefully from the returns available but are subject to correction on publication of ships manifests.

New York, Dec 26

Demand Bills .. 4,33,87

GOVERNMENT OBSERVATORY, COLABA.

Bombay, 27th Dec. 1923.

Means of observations taken at 8 a. m., 10 a.m. 2 p.m., 4 p.m., and 10 p.m.,

Barometer corrected to 32 deg. Fahr.	29.921 inches
Temperature of Air	74.4 degrees
Wet Bulb Thermometer	66.5 ,,
Dew Point	61.3 ,,
Relative humidity of Air	65% ,,
Extent of cloudy sky (the whole sky cloudy equal to 10)	0.0
Maximum temperature of Air	83.0 ,,
Minimum do. do.	68.4 ,,
General direction of Wind from midnight to midnight	N,NE,NW,NNW.
Movement of Wind from midnight to midnight	miles 153

SUN, MOON AND TIDES AT BOMBAY.

Day of Week	Day of Month (High Water)	Bombay Mean Time h. m.	Depth on Sill ft. in.	Day of Month (Low Water)	Bombay Mean Time h. m.	Depth on Sill ft. in.
	Dec.			Dec.		
F.	28	0 32	29 1	28	6 38	19 1
		12 15	28 6		18 12	16 1
Sat.	29	2 9	28 6	29	8 24	19 7
		14 13	26 0		19 58	17 0
S.	30	3 27	27 6	30	9 57	18 11
		16 12	25 4		21 37	19 7
M.	31	4 55	27 0	31	11 5	18 3
	Jan.	17 15	25 3	Jan.	22 57	20 6
Tu.	1	5 20	25 6	1	12 21	18 0
		18 49	25 7			
W.	2	6 29	26 3	2	0 3[illegible]	20 9
		20 6	26 5		[illegible]	[illegible]
Th.	3	7 41	26 4	3	2 1	20 7
		21 14	27 9		14 26	16 4



You *can* nurse Baby yourself

If the greatest privilege of motherhood is [illegible] if you would know the joy of having Baby dependent on [illegible] for health and strength, make sure now [illegible] to nurse him yourself. Very many mothers who could not otherwise nurse their babies have been [illegible] by taking Glaxo themselves every day. Taken regularly two or three times a day (both before and after Baby's arrival) Glaxo enriches and stimulates the flow of breast milk and maintains the mother's strength without [illegible] digestion.

Glaxo

The Super-Milk

"Builds Bonnie Babies"

The safest, purest form of [illegible] for every milk purpose

Tins of Glaxo specially packed for the Indian Market always bear [illegible] Baby on the centre panel and the wording "for consumption in the tropics" [illegible] tins so marked is guaranteed fresh by the makers. Do not purchase [illegible] which do not bear the above trade mark and wording.

Proprietors: Joseph Nathan & Co. Ltd., London & New Zealand.

TRADE AND FINANCE.

WEEKLY REVIEW.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

MONEY.

This was a short week in all the markets on account of the Christmas holidays. Conditions in the money market continue firm, although call money rate is about 2 per cent. This does not indicate the actual tendency of the market which is being clearly evidenced by the rate for two and four months [illegible] quoted about 5 [illegible] per cent. [illegible] in the market [illegible]

The gilt-edged market was quiet during the [illegible] cent. Government Paper was quoted at Rs. 63/2, 5 per cent. Loans due 1933 and 1945-55 are quoted at Rs. 96 and Rs. 95/2 respectively. 5½ per cent Bonds due 1925 and 1928 were placed at Rs. 102/4 and Rs. 102/8 respectively. 6 per cent Bonds due 1926 and 1927 changed hands at Rs. 100/8 and Rs. 100/10 respectively, 1930 at Rs. 101/12 and 1932 at Rs. 102/14. 6½ per cent. Bombay Development loan was quoted at Rs. 106.

The sale of intermediate three months bill at Rs. 98/14 per cent. and six months bills at Rs. 97/9 per cent. was continued throughout the week with little enquiry.

EXCHANGE.

Exchange was a firm market throughout the week especially at the close mainly due to the cash position. Business was done as high as 1 s. 5-9/32 d. for ready, T. T. forward rates being about 1/16 d. to 3/32 d. per month lower than ready. There was some enquiry for bullion importers during the week.

The dollar rate declined from dol. 4.36-5/8 to dol. 4.34-1/4 but closes at dol. 4.34-3/4. The Continental exchanges have again weakened. French Franks depreciated from 84.20 to 85.30, Belgian franks from 95.80 to 96.10 while the Italian lira has improved from 101 to 100.

GOLD.

Gold was a steady market during the early part of the week but later, the prices gave way by about an anna per tola moving in sympathy with the steadiness in sterling exchange. In London the price of the metal improved from 94 s. 5 d. to 95 s. 1 d. In our market the highest and lowest rates during the week were Rs. 25/4 and Rs. 25/2 for ready, Rs. 25/3/3 and Rs. 25/1/9 for 24th December settlement and Rs. 25/3/3 and Rs. 25/1/9 for 22nd January settlement. The rate for sovereign remains steady round Rs. 15/12 for ready and Rs. 15/13 for forward. The off-take continues on an average of about 30,000 tolas a day and the stock is estimated at about 2 lacs tolas, irrespective of the amount taken by the bazar from the mint and excluding arrivals by the incoming mail which is expected to bring in about £1,27,000 gold. Inclusive of these arrivals and exclusive of the present week's shipment the total visible supply from London to India is computed at £5,09,000. The total import of gold during the week amounted to Rs. 15,37,147 in bar and coin. This week's shipment is expected to be for about £1,00,000.

SILVER.

Silver was a steady market throughout the week with a fair amount of business passing for ready delivery. In London the highest and lowest rates during the week were 33-9/16d and 33-3/8d. for ready and 32-7/8d and 32-5/8d for forward. In Shanghai the rate for T T on London improved from 3s 3-7/8d to 3s. 4-1/8d. In our market the highest and lowest rates during the week were Rs. 79/15 and Rs. 79/8 for ready, Rs. 79/15 and Rs. 79/8 for 28th December settlement and Rs. 80/3 and Rs. 79/9 for 26th January settlement. The off-take averages about 150 bars a day and the stock is estimated at about 4,500 bars excluding arrivals by the incoming mail which is expected to bring in about £2,85,000 silver. Inclusive of these arrivals and exclusive of the present week's shipment the total visible supply from London to India is about £3,99,000. The total import of silver during the week amounted to 670 bars and Rs. 6,35,516 in coin. This week's shipment is expected to be for about £1,50,000.

SHARES.

The market was closed throughout the week except for a few hours on Saturday. The following are the closing rates of the principal cotton mill shares. Bombay Dyeings Rs. 845, Century Rs. 427/8, Central India Rs. 527/8, Crescent Rs. 218/12, Indore Malwa Rs. 498/12, Kohinoor Rs. 1,430, New Great Rs. 522/8, Pearls Rs. 585, Shapurji Rs. 2[illegible]7/8, Simplex Rs. 357/8 and Swadeshi Rs. 526/4.

The miscellaneous section [illegible] remained quiet with rates [illegible] Railway shares as well as Bank [illegible] remained quiet [illegible].

[illegible]

The Cloth [illegible] presented a quieter appearance [illegible] owing [illegible] has been [illegible] the turn over [illegible] important [illegible] to the [illegible] market and the [illegible] agents [illegible] purchased [illegible] speculation [illegible] hindering [illegible] ever, hope [illegible] itself [illegible] in the [illegible] been [illegible] Secunderabad [illegible] Shirtings have shown some improvement. Dewhurst's Grey Shirtings 38 inches by [illegible] yards have been in better request and values have advanced [illegible] annas per piece. Grey Jaconets have shown a slight change for the better. Liepman's White Shirtings No. 1500 [illegible] annas [illegible] piece. In White Mulls the 58 inches by [illegible] yards Red End styles have receded in value by five to six annas per piece. 39 inches 20 yards Gold End Mulls have declined [illegible] inches by 18 yards White [illegible] about Rs. 6 per piece have depreciated in values by six annas per piece [illegible] 18 yards ranges Nainsooks have been easier. A lot of bales of No. 61/81 Nainsooks have changed hands [illegible] 4-4 per piece average. Japanese Cloths have been easier by [illegible] piece.

The [illegible] market has been firm, but the holidays [illegible] and there is not much business doing. Buyers seem to be afraid [illegible] to transactions of weight at the present high rates demanded by the [illegible] of bleaching and printing cloths [illegible] fair orders to keep their looms engaged for some time, and do not [illegible] anxious for orders at the moment.

Local Mill Cloths have been easier owing to the absence of inquiry. The Marwaries, who are agents of up-country buyers, have been offering goods, which they had recently bought for [illegible] which has had a depressing effect on the market. Mills are firm owing to reduced stocks, and further are being awaited.

Below "Piece-Goods" Notes in Saturday's issue.

The quotations for the leading chops of Greys and Whites are as under:—

GREY SHIRTINGS—

	Ins. Yds.	Rs. a. p.
Ralli's Fari No. 2000	..39 × 37 1/2/38	13 4 0
,, 100,000	..45 × ,,	15 4 0
,, No. 33,000	..45 × ,,	14 4 0
,, No. 2800	..37 × ,,	11 8 0
Graham's No. 2730	..39 × ,,	13 0 0
,, No. 2750	..45 × ,,	15 4 0
,, Yellow Horse	..43 × 39	—
,, No. 2310	..44 × 38 1/2	—
Dewhursts BBE	..38 × 38 1/2	21 8 0
,, BB	..38 × 38 1/2	18 8 0
,, Rupee No. 5	..38 × 38 1/2	16 8 0
Ritchie's No. 510	..39 × 37 1/2/38	13 0 0
,, No. 4462	..41 × ,,	14 0 0
Lyon's Shunker	..39 × ,,	13 0
Fleming's 1904/1906	..45,48,51 × 38 Avg	18 8

GREY DRILLS—

Pepperell's Dragon	..29 × 40 Net	22 0 0
Ralli's Musjid No. 425	..26 × 40	16 8 0
Mitsui's Elephant	..29 × 40 Net	24 0 0

GREY JACONETS—

Ralli's No. 18	..45 × 22	8 4 0
,, No. 138	..40 × 22	6 12 0
,, No 636	..44 × 22	7 4 0

WHITE SHIRTINGS—

Liepman's No. 1500	..32 × 42	27 0 0
E. S. T. C. 40000	..36 × 40	29 4 0
Ralli's No. 3889	..33 × 40	18 12 0
Forbes' K. B. 100	..33 × 40	19 4 0

WHITE MULLS—

(Continued on next page.)

AUCTION SALE.

BENNETT & CO.

120, Apollo Street, Fort.

On SUNDAY, the 30th day of December, 1923, at 2-30 p.m. (S. T.), Messrs. BENNETT and Co. will sell by Public Auction at "Back Bay View", opposite Charni Road level crossing, valuable household furniture, dining table, arm and without arm chairs, sideboard and dumbwaiter, carpets, drawing room suite, Chesterfield sofas and easy chairs, cabinets, fancy screens, writing tables, glass door book cases, single and double bedsteads, dressing and wash-hand tables, dressing chest of drawers, cloth and gown presses, mirror almyrahs, reclining sofa, easy chairs, teapoys, tables, meatsafes, ice box, etc., etc. The property of a gentleman and others. The above are on view.

This day SATURDAY, the 29th instant, at 3-30 p.m. (S. T.), Messrs. BENNETT and Co. will sell by Public Auction at their Rooms the quantity of grey and coloured piece-goods, etc.

By order of the Office concerned.
15 Pairs Ladies shoes.

AT 2-30 P.M. (S. T.).

1 second-hand rubber tyred Brougham (English).
1 second-hand rubber tyred Victoria.
1 second-hand rubber tyred Landaulette.
1 strong built second-hand Tonga.
1 Arab horse.
A Bay English gelding—15 hands, 10 years old, a good Teak and Trapper Novice.

AUCTION SALE OF VALUABLE PROPERTY AT KAZI SYED STREET.

Under instructions from H. C. Captain Esqr. the Special Commissioner appointed by the High Court at Bombay in Suit No. 2246 of 1922 in which suit The Tata Industrial Bank Limited are the plaintiffs and Haji Esmail Gool Mahomed and Son, and Gulamhussein Haji Hasam Noorani are the defendants in pursuance of the final decree passed in the said suit dated 11th of April, 1923, Messrs BENNETT & CO., will on THURSDAY the 10th January, 1924, next, sell by Public Auction at 4-30 p.m. (S. T.) on the premises.

All that piece or parcel of land of the quit and ground rent tenure with a messuage, tenements and dwelling house standing thereon situate on the East side of Kazi Syed Street containing by admeasurement 131 square yards or thereabouts and registered by the Collector of Land Revenue under Old No. 674, New No. 6369, Old Survey No. 417, New Survey No. 2602 and Cadastral Survey No.——(Division) and assessed by the Municipality under B Ward No. 1417, Street Nos. 71-75, and bounded on or towards the East by a sweeper's passage and beyond that by the house now or formerly of Dhunji Kessowji, on or towards the West by the said Kazi Syed Street, on or towards the North by the house now or formerly of Haji Esmail Haji Habib, on or towards the South by a common passage beyond which is the house of Gulam Husein Haji Hassam Noorani, the second defendant.

For further particulars and conditions of sale apply to Messrs. Little and Co., Solicitors for The Tata Industrial Bank Ltd., or to the undersigned.

FURNITURE SALE AT DADAR MAIN ROAD, DADAR IN THE COMPOUND OF CARTER DAIRY CO. AND 5 MINUTES WALK FROM DADAR STATION.

On SUNDAY, the 6th January, 1924 at 2-30 p.m. (S.T.) Messrs. BENNETT & CO., are instructed to sell by public auction at the above address very valuable and handsome made to order house hold furniture rich glass, crockery and plateware, dining table, arm and without arm chairs, side board and dumb waiters crockery stands, teapoys, easy chairs, carpets, Drawing room suite, Chesterfield sofas and easy chairs, Cabinets, vases, ornaments, Electric fan and lights, one sweet toned iron frame cottage piano by Rose, phonograph, writing tables, glass door books and silver cabinets, single and double bedsteads, mirror Almyrahs, Dressing chest of drawers, dressing and wash hand tables, cloth and gown presses, reclining sofas, easy chairs, hat stands, benches, cane furniture, ice box, aluminium utensils and one Brisco Motor Car in good running order etc. etc. The above will be on view 4 days before the sale.

The property of Captain F. Harris N. C. B. Arrow, Esqr., and others.

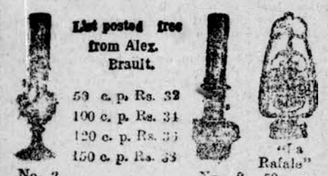
BENNETT & CO.,

Bombay, 29th December 1923.

PREMIUM BONDS.

ALEX. BRAULT
(Established at Calcutta since 1886.)
7-1, Wellesley Place, Calcutta.
NEW FRENCH LOANS
"CREDIT NATIONAL 6%—1923"
FREE OF ALL TAXES.
BEWARE OF BOGUS and MUSHROOM FIRMS
BOOKLET: Posted free on application

TITO-LANDI LAMPS



List posted free from Alex. Brault.
50 c. p. Rs. 32
100 c. p. Rs. 34
120 c. p. Rs. 35
150 c. p. Rs. 38
No. 3 Special
No. 2 Lamp
"La Rafale" 50 c.p. Rs. 19. nett.

FLAMME BLEUE



French patented Kerosene stoves.
Stove No. 1 Rs. 28
Plate Rs. 12-8
Fits on any of our Stoves, 3 holes.



No, 14 arc shape Storm proof Lamp 500 c. p. Rs. 125.
Large Stock of all sizes—Ovens. Grills, 3 hole Cooking ranges.

"ELECTRO AUTOMATE LAMPS"
DYNAMO SELF-CONTAINED.
Works by pressure of fingers, or pull.



Self-generating Hand Torch no refills. Rs. 31



Strap Knock Electric Lamps used by Police, Postmen Night Watchmen etc. Rs. 37-8

COMMERCIAL

(Continued from previous page.)

Ralli's	No. 6	41×19	—	8	4 0
"	No. 60	46×19	—	9	4 0
"	No. 600	51×19	—	10	4 0
"	No. 6000	56×19	—	11	6 0
"	No. 88	58×20	—	7	5 0
"	No. 1270	27×18	—	3	11 0
"	No. 818	39×20	—	7	7 0
"	No. 1440	36×20	—	5	12 0
"	No. 5352	42×20	—		
"	No. 2755	42×20	—		
"	No. 1703	52×20	Net	15	4 0
Ritchie's	No. 1260	27×18	—	3	11 0
"	No. 119	37×18	—	4	8 0
"	No. 229	42×18	—	5	0 0
"	No. 339	47×18	—	5	8 0
"	1L/4K 38", 47",	48×53×18	Avg.	6	0 0
"	No. 95	58×20	—	7	4 0
"	No. 66999	40×18	—	5	8 0
"	No. 38999	" "	—	6	0 0
"	No. 775	40×18	—	6	2 0
"	No. 875	45×18	—	6	10 0
"	No. 975	60×18	—	7	2 0
"	No. 615	" "	—	6	14 0
Graham's	Baloon	58×20	—	7	4 0
Greaves'	No. 5060	27×18	—	3	8 0

WHITE NAINSOOKS—

Ralli's	No. 7070/9090	27×18	—	4	12 0
"	No. 61/81	" "	—	4	4 0
"	No. 1850	" "	—	3	14 0
"	No. 1900	" "	—	4	0 0
"	No. 2600	" "		4	2 0
"	No. 21021	" "	—	4	4 0
"	No. 39620 T. B.	38×22	—	7	0 0
Graham's	Nos. 88/8888	28×18	—	5	6 0
"	No. 95950/97970 Saraswati	33×18	—		
"	Tipoo W/WWW	34×18	—	6	6 0
"	No. 50000	" "	—	6	14 0
"	No. 33340/33350/33360		—	7	6 0
Lyons'	No. 4545/5656/ 6767	26×18	—	4	8 0
Greaves'	No. 30000/50000	" "	—	4	8 0
"	No. 8000 T. B.	38×22	—		
Ritchie's	Nos. 3500/4510 5520	26×18	—	4	6 0
S. W. Co's.	Nos. 5800/ 5820 "Motor Car"		—	4	6 0

The above quotations are on Bazaar terms with discount of three and a half per cent on Grey Goods and four per cent on White Goods.

YARN MARKET.

(From our Correspondent.)

Bombay, Dec. 23.

This has been a Holiday Week and there are therefore no transactions of importance to be reported. The undertone is no doubt steady, and although demand has not hitherto shown any improvement, prices have not shown any tendency to decline as the position of Raw Material has been continuously strong and there are no chances for any serious decline in the near future. Mills are seriously considering as to the course they should now follow, and there are rumours current in the market that some Mills intend to close down. Prices of Yarns and Cloth have not been able to follow the price of Cotton so far, and it is indeed a difficult time for the Mill Industry. It is also believed in some circles that the country is not able to pay such a high price for cloth, and if under the circumstances high prices will continue, demand will be materially restricted as consumption will not be as usual. Others believe high prices will induce buyers as always is the case, and the question is not of a high or low price, but what is wanted is a steady and smooth level which alone will attract demand. There is thus a conflict of opinion amongst the Trade Circle, and so long as a reasonable certainty is not in sight, trading is not regarded safe by our dealers here and upcountry.

Manchester reports very poor fresh business. Japan also quotes little higher prices than the last and fresh business is small. Transactions however in almost all kinds of Japanese Yarns, real and speculative, are noticed in the market, for ready and forward deliveries, and this keeps our market going.

Indian Yarns sell slowly at a price about an anna lower than the Mill quotations. Off-take is poor, and this alone comes in the way of free trading. The prices however are not expected to decline so long as Cotton keeps strong and so long as Mills cannot offer at any lower rates.

The whole position is still uncertain, but we believe some improvement in demand is possible after the Holidays, and we advise our dealers to operate cautiously at every break, for under the circumstances, all hopes for any serious decline in prices have got to be removed.

LOCAL YARN MARKET.

	Rs.	a.	p.
6 1/2s SECOND QUALITY.			
Finlay	14	0	0
Apollo	14	0	0
Simplex	0	13	0
Shapoorji	13	2	0
Currimbhoy	13	5	0
6 1/2s. FIRST QUALITY.			
Edward Sassoon	12	8	0
Apollo	0	0	0
David	12	8	0
8 1/2s. FIRST QUALITY.			
Jacob (Seven stars)	14	0	0
Edward Sassoon	14	8	0
Apollo	14	8	0
Bradbury	15	0	0
10 1/2s.			
Shapoorji	14	12	0
Apollo	15	0	0
Swadeshi	16	0	0
Bradbury	16	0	0
Asur Virji	15	0	0
David (Flowerman)	14	12	0
David (Cockatoo)	15	8	0
Indo China	0	0	0
12 1/2s.			
Elphinstone	15	4	0
Currimbhoy	15	4	0
China	0	0	0
Moon	15	0	0
Apollo	15	2	0
Dawn	15	4	0
14 1/2			
Kilachand	15	14	0
Apollo	15	12	0
City	17	0	0
Colaba Land	15	12	0
Fazalbhai	15	8	0
20s.			
Kilachand	17	12	0
Edward Sassoon	17	8	0
Elphinstone	17	8	0
Phoenix	17	12	0
Dawn	17	8	0

FLOUR, ATTA AND BRAN.

Bombay, Dec. 28.

	Wallace.	Bombay.	Union Luxmi.
Superfine	18/8	18/	14/8
House-hold	14/4	16/8	16/4
Export	17/	16/	15/12
Bazaar	—	—	—
Atta No. 3	13/	12/8	12/8
Bran, Coarse	1/	1/	1/
Bran, Fine	1/1	1/1	1/1
Soji	19/	19/	19/
Rawa	18/8	18/8	18/8

Remarks :—

SUGAR CROP.

LONDON, Dec. 27.

Himeley's estimate of cuban Sugar Crop is 3,813,000 tons.

WEEKLY REVIEW.

FOREIGN MARKETS.

During the week under review the Home markets have been fluctuating but on the whole show a sharp advance both in Liverpool and New York as compared with a week ago. The markets advanced on Foreign and local buying.

Immediately following our last report, prices in America have advanced to further high levels under the influence of fresh buying for local as well as foreign markets. For the first few days of the week the markets moved with in a small range, but towards the close there was a violent fluctuation with the result that values to-day stand once again to a remarkably good level. The renewed improvement has encouraged those operators who had previously been under a misapprehension as to the actual strength of cotton, to embark for the first time on the "Bull" side. Besides a considerable amount of buying orders has accumulated in the hands of brokers to be executed as soon as the markets show signs of a fairly good reaction. The actual supply of raw material is quite insufficient for the requirements of the world, and curtailment at any moment may easily take place. The sharp improvement in the raw commodity has to a more or less extent proved beneficial to the trade in general, and the majority of spinners in the United States at last seems to realise the danger of still higher prices ruling as the season advances, and have now come forward as anxious purchasers.

Great activity has been displayed in the American spot markets this week and business has been put through on a big scale. Further more trade reports from Manchester show renewed strength, and we hope to see further development in this respect as time goes on.

It is of course difficult to judge the immediate trend of the markets but as the statistical position of cotton remains as strong as ever we fail to see whence a decline of any importance is to come from.

The market seems to have overbought at the moment and a reaction may easily be witnessed in the immediate future. On the whole we are still of the opinion that the present season is such that those who make purchases systematically in weak sessions will derive a good profit of their adventures ultimately.

As regards the position of our forward market prices keep remarkably steady in sympathy with the rise on the other side. So far as we can see there is nothing in the position of cotton to justify one in looking for lower prices, and although the latter may not advance materially in the near future, we think that later in the season prices will be considerably higher and we, therefore recommend our friends to take advantage of the weak markets in order to make purchases.

In the ready market the demand seems to be on a moderate scale and sellers are at the moment disinclined to part with their stock at the present level of prices. In the circumstances a decline in the near future seems improbable unless American markets should suddenly give way.

The following were the changes in the Home markets as compared with last week :—

	Last week	this week.
New York January	34.55	35.51 plus 96
New York March	24.87	35.93 plus 106
New York May	35.05	36.08 plus 103
New York July	34.27	35.18 plus 91
New York October	28.35	29.17 plus 82
Liverpool January	19.81	21.13 plus 132
Liverpool March	19.80	21.04 plus 124
Liverpool May	19.67	20.78 plus 111
Liverpool July	19.20	20.25 plus 105
Liverpool October	16.11	16.89 plus 78

LOCAL FORWARD MARKET.

Fully Good M. G. Broach April/May opened on the 21st instant at Rs. 642. Going down to Rs. 640 the market advanced to Rs. 650 on buying by Commission Houses and one Japanese firm. On selling by jobbers the market eased to Rs. 647 but again recovered to Rs. 654 on prominent Shroffs buying. The prices further improved to Rs. 662 on buying by a well-known Indore operator and a Japanese House. On the 22nd instant the Bazar opened at Rs. 662 and dropped to Rs. 654½ on selling by a Japanese House and Marwari Shroffs, but again recovered to Rs. 659 on Commission Houses buying. Around this level a well-known Indore operator sold freely which caused the prices to give way to Rs. 647. On the 24th instant the market opened at Rs. 646 and declined to Rs. 640½ on selling by jobbers. Scattered buying caused the values to improve to Rs. 643½. Around this level a well-known Indore operator sold which caused the market to drop to Rs. 637. The prices again recovered to Rs. 642 on short covering and Commission Houses buying. On the 26th instant the market opened at Rs. 642 and fluctuated between Rs. 640½ and Rs. 644. In sympathy with a sharp advance in New York futures on the 27th instant the market opened at Rs. 656 steady and jumped to Rs. 662 on buying by Offices. Going down to Rs. 659½ the market recovered to Rs. 662 on buying by Shroffs and after some fluctuations closed on the same day at Rs. 661.

Fine Oomra December/January opened on the 21st instant at Rs. 615 and gradually advanced to Rs. 630 on buying by Offices, Selling by Offices, Commission Houses and Marwari Shroffs the values dropped to Rs. 609 on the 24th instant, but again improved to Rs. 613 on one Japanese firm buying. On the 27th instant the market opened steady at Rs. 628 and advanced to Rs. 631 on Offices buying, and closed at Rs. 629 on the same day. Fine Oomra March opened on the 21st instant at Rs. 605 and improved to Rs. 620. From this level it dropped to Rs. 602 on selling by Offices, but again recovered to Rs. 606. On the 27th instant the market opened steady at Rs. 623 and after sharp fluctuations closed on the same day at Rs. 622. F. G. Bengal December/January opened at Rs. 542 on the 21st instant and closed on the 27th instant at Rs. 548 the highest being Rs. 550 and the lowest Rs. 528. Whilst March opened at Rs. 542 on the 21st instant and closed at Rs. 544 on the 27th instant the highest being Rs. 546 and the lowest Rs. 526.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT GAZETTE.

Thursday, December 27.

The Honourable Sir Lallubhai A. Shah, Kt., Judge of His Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Bombay, is granted leave on full allowances for four months and eleven days with effect from the 9th June 1924, and is permitted to prefix to his leave the summer vacation and suffix thereto the October vacation.

The Honourable Mr. Justice L. C. Crump, I.C.S., Judge of His Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Bombay, is granted leave on full allowances for four months and eleven days with effect from the 9th June 1924, and is permitted to prefix to his leave the summer vacation and suffix thereto the October vacation of the Bombay High Court for the year 1924.

Subject to the confirmation of His Majesty's Government, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to recognise the appointment of Dr. A. Lafar as Consul for Czecho-Slovakia at Bombay.

Mr. J. R. Hood, I.C.S., is appointed to act as Political Agent, Akalkot vice Mr. C. W. A. Turner, I.C.S. on deputation, pending further orders.

Major B. R. Reilly, O.B.E., Assistant Resident, Aden, has been granted by the High Commissioner for India an extension of two days' leave on half average pay in continuation of the leave granted to him.

Mr. G. C. Shannon, I.C.S., on relief by Mr. A. F. Kindersley, I.C.S., is appointed to act as District and Sessions Judge, Hyderabad, vice Mr. P. E. Percival, I.C.S., on deputation or pending further orders.

Mr. J. H. Sanders, I.C.S. on relief by Mr. R. T. F. Kirk, I.C.S. is appointed Joint Judge and Additional Sessions Judge, Hyderabad.

Mr. H. K. Mehta, Subordinate Judge, is granted further leave on average pay up to the 4th December 1923 and leave on half average pay from the 5th to the 22nd December 1923 and is permitted to suffix to the leave Sunday the 23rd December and the Christmas vacation.

Mr. P. A. Kelly, Commissioner of Police, Bombay, is granted leave on average pay for eight months from the 1st March 1924 or the date of relief.

Mr. Hari Narayan Pimple, Inspector of Police, Criminal Investigation Department is temporarily appointed as Deputy Superintendent of Police on Rs. 340 per mensem.

Mr. G. K. Gokhale, a Magistrate of the First Class in the district of Kanara is invested with the additional Power to require security for good behaviour (section 110.)

Khan Saheb K. M. Dadina, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Aden, is granted leave on average pay for one month and eight days with effect from the date on which he may avail himself of it.

Mr. P. T. Kirkpatrick, District Superintendent of Police, Poona, is granted, with effect from the date of relief, leave on average pay for eight months combined with leave on half average pay for twenty months.

Mr. F. B. P. Lory, Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, has been allowed to suffix the Christmas holidays to the leave granted to him.

Mr. J. G. Rele, B.A. LL.B. is appointed to be Part-time Lecturer of Mercantile Law for the Accountancy Diploma classes at the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, vice Dr. J. S. Khergamwala for one year.

Mr. R. H. A. Reeves is appointed to act as Chairman, City of Bombay Improvement Trust, vice Mr. R. G. Turner, I.C.S., proceeding on leave, pending further orders.

Mr. L. E. Greening, A.M. Inst. C. E., Assistant Executive Engineer, is granted leave on average pay for eight months combined with leave on half average pay for one month with effect from the 22nd January 1924 or the subsequent date of relief.

Mr. T. A. Andrew, B. Sc. (Eng.) Glas., Executive Engineer, is granted leave on average pay for eight months combined with leave on half average pay for ten months with effect from the 16th April 1924 or the subsequent date of relief.

Mr. E. Ms Proes, C. S. I., M.L.C., Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government, Public Works Department, is granted leave on average pay for eight months combined with leave on half average pay for one year and eight months with effect from the afternoon of the 16th February 1924 with permission to retire from service at the end of the leave.

MAHOMEDAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

(Associated Press.)

ALIGARH, Dec. 26.

The All India Mahomedan Educational Conference opened this morning, Hon. Sahibzda Aftad Ahmad Khan being in the chair. A large number of delegates and visitors have come from all parts of India. The President in his speech referred to Mahomedan educational problem and emphasised particularly the great object lessons of the Aligarh University's founder Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and the need of keeping his memory in minds of younger generation. The Moslems had neglected God's gift while European nations actually followed spirit of Islamic teaching and made use of God's gift. Regarding the problem of Indian students abroad, the President regretted the non-fulfilment of the Lytton Committee's findings. He made some interesting observations with reference to the problem of adult education as the prime instrument of instruction in duties of citizenship and duties of universities in this connection. The President next took up national education and training, and afterwards referred to three main elements of politics of India, namely, (1) the British Government (2) the Hindu majority (3) the Moslem minority and said the cause of Moslem difficulty in the attainment of Swaraj was that the attainment of Swaraj in effect, meant, the predominence of the Hindu majority and the relations between the two communities were not on sound footing. The conflict was between the position as sons of India and position as the Moslem minority. The solution of the problem lay along a separate communal programme and organisation for the defence of special Moslem interests. The Mahomedan political future depended on the courage and independence of their representatives in Councils, Municipal and District Boards and various Government departments.

ALIGARH, Dec. 27.

The sitting of the All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference was resumed, this morning, under the presidency of Mr. Mackenzie, Director of Public Instruction, U. P. Mr. Mackenzie, in the course of his address, paid a tribute to the ideal of Mahomedan culture, the preservation of which would be to the advance of whole India. Education, according to him was, the contact of mind with mind and spirit with spirit. He concluded by exhorting his audience to work harmoniously in furtherance of the cause of education.

EXHIBITION OPENED.

His Excellency Sir William Marris then opened the Educational Exhibition which formed a valuable collection of books. The opening ceremony being over, His Excellency received address on behalf of Conference. The address began by thanking His Excellency for the support he had given to the cause of education and stated that the main object of educational movement was revival among Indian Mussalmans of education in general and of modern high education in particular. The address also acknowledges the support given by the Government educationists and educational institutions and patronage of Mussalman Chiefs and nobles.

His Excellency in his reply referred to genius and character of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the part played by him in promoting cause of Mahomedan education. The Imparting of education, he said, was necessary for political advancement and the Moslem community being in minority would be able to improve their lot and advance politically by devoting whole-heartedly to the cause of education.

A correspondent from Indore wires:—

"The Second Session of the All-India Mairh Kshatriya Conference was celebrated at Indore on 26th and 27th December, under the presidentship of Pandit Moulvi Ramchandraji Devi. Nearly 1,009 members from all parts of the country were assembled. His Highness the Maharaja of Indore expressed his good wishes for the success of and full sympathy with the Sammelan. The prime minister and other high officials of the State graced the occasion.

A Cawnpore message says:—The Reception Committee has fixed 9th and 10th February 1924, for the sittings of the All-India Kanyakabja Yuvak Sammelan, under the leadership of Pandit Ramprasad Misra a deputation has gone to Cocanada for propaganda work there.

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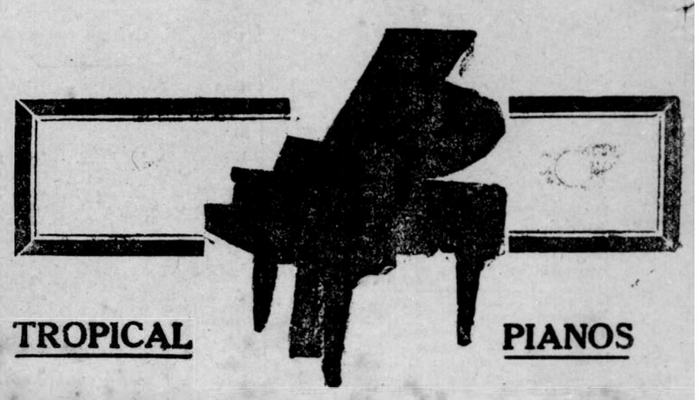
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MOTHER SEIGEL'S SYRUP

SAVED FROM THE GRAVE.

I am neither an advertising physician nor a doctor of medicines but an ordinary clerk. In the prime of youth I unfortunately suffered a breakdown. I secretly sent for medicine from all the famous physicians whose grandiloquent advertisements resounded in the newspaper world. To my ill-luck, despair and disappointment stared me in the face wherever I looked until I began to prefer death to life. The wheel of fortune, however, took a new revolution and I was suddenly called upon in July, 1901, to undertake in connection with my employment a very dreary journey to Nepal which dotted over with short breaks in the way, took me thirteen days to reach Khatmandoo, where I put in a Caravanserai. Adjoining to my room there had sojourned a day or two previously an angel-looking hermit who enquired from me the nature of my illness in such a loving tone that I was coaxed into a reluctant exposure of my long-hidden secret.

Taking pity upon me he scratched out two prescriptions and in accordance with his directions I prepared from herbs and vegetables some tonic pills and a liniment for massage.

GOD THE WITNESS.

Only a week's treatment cured me of all the complaints that had made my life so burdensome that I looked upon suicide as the only avenue of escape from this "living death." Although by virtue of this short treatment I could find it too hard to restrain myself, yet in consequence of the strict surveillance that my benefactor so very kindly exercised over me I was obliged to observe the necessary prevention and to undergo the full course of treatment for 21 days which gave such a manly vigour to my deranged nervous system. After the completion of my mission there I reached home and experimented the remaining medicine upon some other hopeless cases and found it infallible remedy for all sorts of nervine diseases and every kind of general physical debility. On the persistent demands of some of my prudent and philanthropic friends and with a view to public weal I advertised this medicine. The price advertised hardly covers the expenses of its preparation and of enormously vast advertising operation.

PRICE	Rs.	
1 Phial of liniment	2-8	excluding postal expenses, *i. e.* As. 5.
1 box of Pills	1-8	

Price 1 full box containing 1 phial of liniment and three boxes of Pills Rs. 7; Rs. 9 for foreign including transit expenses.

Nervous weakness can be cured by one full box containing 3 boxes of pills and 1 phial of liniment but an ordinary debility can be rectified by 1 phial of liniment and 2 boxes of pills which contain 28 doses for 14 days.

The medicine is absolutely free from all Poisonous or Mercurial elements and will cause no skin eruption to appear on the place massaged.

This medicine is an infallible remedy for impotency, involuntary discharges and sexual debility resulting from excess in sexual intercourse. It completely cures the defects caused by masturbation and other akin habits. It is also specific for the after effects of Gonorrhoea and Syphilis.

The use of this medicine to women during the period of menstruation is specially recommended.

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Dear B. Ghulam Ahmed Sahib,

Your medicine is really good. Kindly send me three phials more and oblige. My friend wants to try it.

THAKUR SINGH,
P. O. Chanic, District Montgomery.

Dear Sheikh Sahib,

Your medicine has been recommended to me by my friend who is cured of his illness. So kindly send me the same at your earliest convenience.

KAOSAM AHMED BAVA DESAI
C/o Desai Street at Tadkeshrar
Via Kim Statiou, Dist. Surat.

ear Sheikh Sahib,

Kindly send me your medicine at your earliest convenience and oblige. I used your medicine once and am got rid of my complaints.

KORA RAM, SHOPKEEPER,
Fort Sandeman' Belochistan, Dist. Sob.

My Dear Sheikh Sahib.

I used your medicine and praise it

RAMEZEDCHI, Esq,
Rly. Refreshment-room, Pymmana Burm

Dear Sheikh Sahib.

Kindly send your medicine at once as it has proved efficacious once.

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BEST TESTIMONIALS OF APPRECIATION FROM MAHARAJAS AND OTHER MOST ENLIGHTENED PERSONAGES.

HINDUS UNDER MUSLIM RULE

(Continued from page 6.)

a scholar speaks of their religion and their philosophy in the highest possible terms.

Writing about the Hindu belief of God he says:—

"The Hindus believe with regard to God that He is One, eternal, without beginning and end; acting by free will Almighty All-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving, one who in his Sovereignty is unique, beyond all likness and unlikeness, and that he does not resemble anything nor does anything resemble him." We have quoted Al Beruni to show his views regarding Hindu belief of One God, let us now quote at length the views of a great Muslim Saint of India.

Muslim Scholars and Saints on Hinduism.

It will be appropriate at this place to examine the views and opinions of Muslim Scholars and Saints about the Hindu religion. This will serve as an eye-opener not for the Hindus alone but also for the Mussalmans.

His Holiness Mirza Mazher Janjana, was noted for his high position in the Sufistic theology and mysticism. Kazi Sanaullah a great *Alim* gloried himself in carrying Mirza Janjana's shoes. Such was the esteem in which Mirza was held even by Ulema. In answer to a query Mirza Mazher Janjana wrote a long letter, which is preserved up till now, in which he describes at great length the religious ideals and beliefs of Hindus. "Each sect of Hindus," says he, "recognises the Unity of God.........They in *reality*, do not worship the idols." Then he goes on describing in a most lucid and learned way the Hindu religious system and says "it clearly proves Hinduism to be a divine but repealed religion as Judaism and Christianity. As our religious books are silent, it is not therefore meet for us to term them "infidels" (Kafirs.) The Hindus make statues of the attributes of God and concentrate their ideas on the same with the object of a acquiring similar aspects of life. This method, as a matter of fact, is similar to the *Zikr-e-Rabta* as practised by the Muslim sufis. They also concentrate their will-power on their respective *Sheikhs* (spiritual guides) in order to attain their attributes. Nor the Hindu idolatry is akin to the idolatry of the pagan Arabs.

Abul Fazl's View.

Then the learned Abul Fazl writes of Hindus in these words:—"I have lived with Hindu sages and after careful enquiry about various sects of their religion have recorded their principles in this book for the reason that wise men of the future should, after comparing the theories of Plato and Aristotle with those of Hindu dicta, know what is truth. The Hindu books contain many precious and invaluable precepts. It is difficult for me to express my ideas at a time when I am fully engrossed in worldly affairs...The Hindus are ever ready gladly to sacrifice their lives to please God. They believe in the unity of God. An ignorant person will consider that to respect wooden statues and other objects is nothing better than an idolatry, but their wise men informed me that they resort to the statue of some pious being to concentrate their ideas and to safeguard their mind from diversion. At the same time they deem the worship of God as essential, and seek His help in their prayers and in course of their actions. They consider him superior to all and recognise Brahma above whom I have mentioned in the beginning as their Creator Vishnu as their supporter and preserver, and Ruddera better known as Mahadeo, to be their destroyer. One sect is of opinion that God descended in these three aspects without being polluted in any way. This resembles to the Trinity of the Christians. Another group opines that man achieves greatness through his godliness, piety and purity. However, righteousness and penance are found to such an extent in this sect as is not to be found anywhere else.

In his translation of the Upanishads Darashikoh writes:—"As a matter of fact. This old script which is undoubtedly divine and primary and ancient fountain of the the Ocean of Unity as the Koran indicates that "The Koran is hidden in the Book which is appreciated by him who is purified and has been revealed by Maker of the Universe." It is certainly admitted that the above sura in the Koran refers to the Old and New Testaments and the original of this book (the Upanishads) is the *Upankehat* or sacrament and passages of the Koran are found therein it is really this ancient script that has been referred to as "The hidden book".

Moulana Shah Abdul Aziz the great jurist of Delhi was once asked to give his views about Sri Krishna. He said we should not speak against Krishnaji (Kanahyaji) "It is quite clear from Bhagwatgita," so said he, "the most authentic book of the Hindus, that Krishnaji was a spiritual Teacher. His place at Mathra is undoubtedly the abode of love (the love of God)."

Maulana Shah Abdul Razzak of Bansa in Oudh was a great saint of his time. He is revered by thousands of Mussalmans to-day who flock every year in large numbers to his grave at Bansa near Lucknow. Shah Abdul Razzak describing his journey to Mecca says that when he passed through Mathura on his way to pilgrimage to Mecca, he saw the vision of Sri Krishna's soul. The author of the book "Basharat Ahmedi" Moulvi Abdul Aziz, enjoins upon the Mussalmans never to use unbecoming language in respect of Ramchandraji and Sri Krishnaji.

Sikander Lodi who had stopped the yearly Mohamedan festival of Musud Salar Ghazi wanted also to put a stop to the Hindu festival of [illegible] at Thaneshwar. Mian Abdullah [illegible] a great Moulvi of his time, opposed the wishes of the King with vehemence and said the Islamic Shariat forbade the destruction of shrines. The King had no [illegible] to stop the ancient custom and festival of [illegible] of the Hindus. He insisted on the King's withdrawing his [illegible]. Sikander got angry and said you want to defend such foolish customs. The Moulana gravely replied "I gave you the correct law. It is now for you to disregard the law of Islam." Sikander felt sorry and at once withdrew the order.

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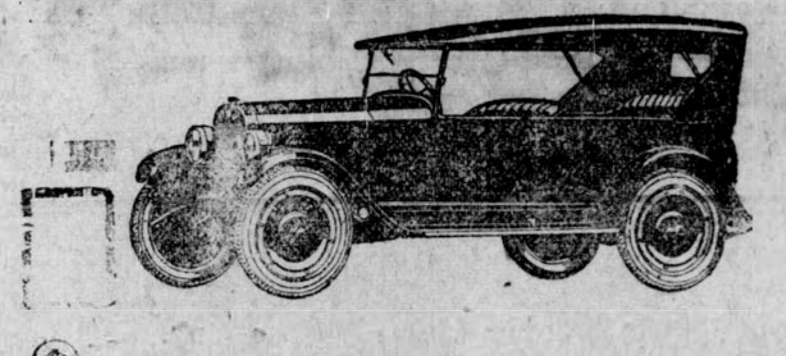
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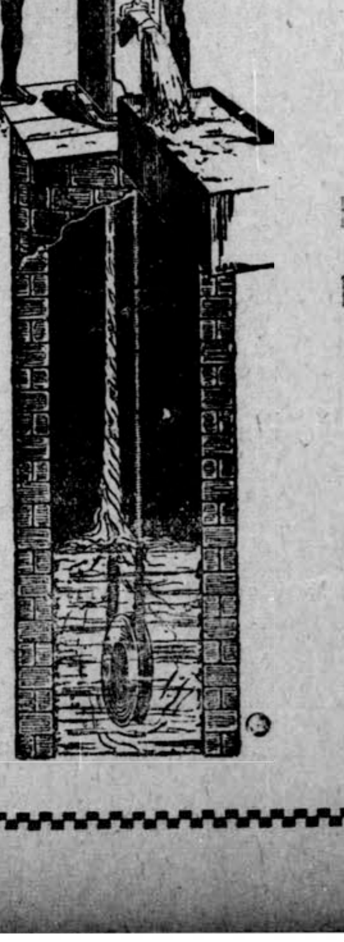
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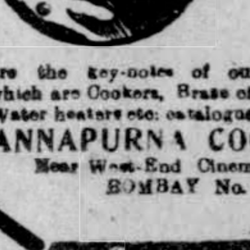
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INDIA'S NEED OF THE HOUR.

"PEACE, HARMONY, GOOD-WILL."

WORK THE BARDOLI PLAN.

READINESS TO DIE IS SHORT-CUT TO LIBERTY.

WOMEN, THE MAINSTAY OF KHADI WORK.

MIXED COMMITTEES FOR COMMUNAL TROUBLES.

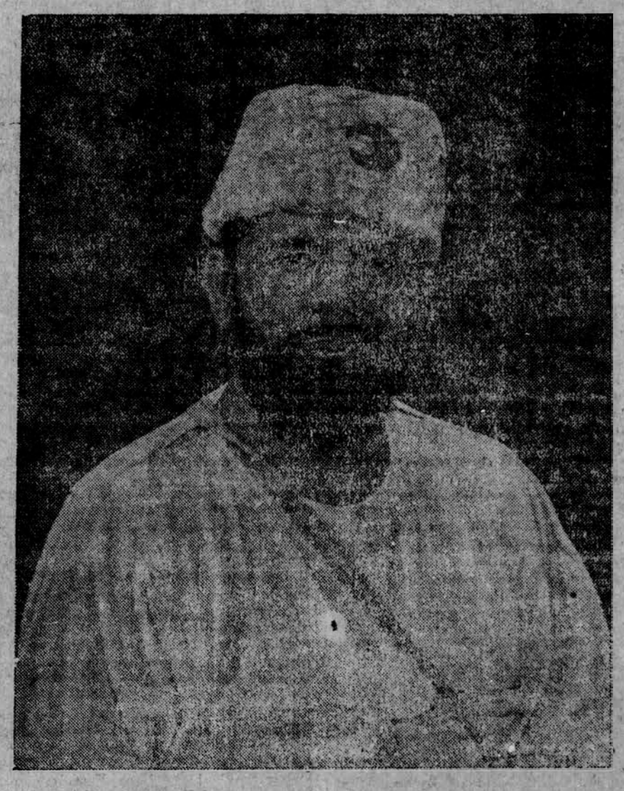
CONGRESS AND SWARAJISTS.

"There is no royal road to liberty. But there is one short cut, and that is the readiness to follow the road to the grave.....Swaraj is in 'your' hands and can be won 'to-day' if each of you resolves to be ready to die at the country's call."

In these words Maulana Mahomed Ali wound up his presidential address, dealing with various questions of national interest. He devoted a large part of his address to a survey of Muslims' part in the struggle for freedom and attributed their past dislike of the National Congress to ignorance and distrust. He dwelt in detail with the different stages of Hindu-Muslim rapprochement and said that ours was a war of principles, for successfully fighting which we needed discipline, not death. He was of opinion that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim friction lay in toleration, starting mixed Committees for settling communal differences and above all, in realising the kingdom of God within us and striving for Peace, Harmony and Goodwill. He defined his ideal in this connection as the establishment of an Inter-Communal Federation for India.

Maulana Mahomed Ali defined Swaraj as the Raj of all, in which every community's Dharma would be protected and maintained. He flouted the idea of Indian Mahomedans joining hands with Afghanistan and enslaving Hindus under Swaraj....It was no use, he said, to discuss any more the advisability or otherwise of Council-entry but the only way to win back the glory of N. C. O. was in working the Bardoli programme. He exhorted the women of India to work at the spinning-wheel and be in charge of the Khadi department. He was also of opinion that a permanent, whole-time paid National Secretariat was necessary to meet the growing work of National Service.

CHAMPION OF HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.



Maulana Mahomed Ali, President of the Cocanada Congress.

The following is the full text of Maulana Mahomed Ali's presidential address:—

Friends and fellow-workers,—It has been the custom for every occupant of the Presidential chair of the Indian National Congress to thank the delegates that have conferred on him the highest honour it is in the power of the Indian nation to confer on an Indian. It has also been customary for him to disclaim that his merits deserved such signal honour and to declare his unfitness to rank with those that had previously occupied the Presidential chair. I have no doubt that the innate modesty of my predecessors infused into these disclaimers and declarations a sincerity that saved them from the banality of mere conventions. But it is no such modesty that makes me further stale them by repetition. When two years ago, just on the eve of my imprisonment, a few of the Provinces had honoured me also with their nominations, I was still in a position to withdraw my name and to give at least partial expression to the shock of surprise I felt on that occasion. This time, however, fate had taken the matter almost entirely out of my hands; for soon after I was discharged from prison I received from the Reception Committee here the telegraphic message that in a few day it would meet to put the seal or its agreement on the choice of the Provincial Congress Committees.

Believe me, if the circumstances that had led to the Special Session at Delhi, and, still more, if that session itself had not revealed to me conditions that made the withdrawal of my name something in the nature of desertion, I would have withdrawn it even at that late stage. I consider it a presumption to preside here, and one reason for my reluctance and hesitation must be obvious to all. It must be remembered that my association with the Indian National Congress is of very recent date. It was only in 1919 that for the first time I attended the Congress as a delegate, and then, too, my participation was not in the ordinary course. As some of you may remember, my brother and I had just been released from confinement as State Prisoners in the Betul gaol in which our internment during the last four years of the War had culminated. We had, of course, proceeded straight to the Congress that had already commenced its session in martyred Amritsar, and since we could not have been elected as delegates in the usual way, the good people of Amritsar had forthwith adopted us as their own. The Nagpur Session that was held in the following year was the first, and, as it happened, also the only one previous to this which my brother and I attended as delegates elected in the ordinary course. Those who had hitherto occupied the Presidential chair had been veterans that had grown grey in the service of the Congress. Can it, therefore, be merely conventional if one who is after all among the babes and sucklings of the Congress thanks you for such an unusual mark of your favour?

The only consideration which could justify this favour was that, although my association with the Congress was recent, it was coupled with my association with one of the very greatest, if also one of the latest Congressmen, one whom all eyes search in vain in this Pandal to-day. Ever since I first attended a session of the Congress as a delegate in 1919, his had been the one dominating personality. More than ever we need our great chief, Mahatma Gandhi, to-day; and if God has willed that in his place one of his humblest followers, though not the least loving among them, should assist you in your deliberations, I can only feel what the Arab poet felt when he wistfully wrote:

"The death of greatness made us great!"

But although the man who was most responsible for Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration hoped that by burying him alive, as he called it, he would kill the spirit that the Mahatma had infused into the nation, I feel certain that it lives just as surely as the Mahama lives himself. Relying on God's assistance and on your own kind indulgence, which, I think, I may with confidence bespeak, I invoke that spirit to-day, in the hope that with its aid I may prove not altogether unworthy of the high office to which your suffrage has all too generously called me.

Friends, the only one who can lead you is the one who had led you at Amritsar, at Calcutta, at Nagpur and at Ahmedabad, though each session of the Congress had its own elected President. Our generalissimo is to-day a prisoner of war in the hands of the enemy, and none can fill the void that his absence from our midst has caused. As for myself, I am but a comrade whom your loving kindness has called out from the ranks, and I plead for its continuance not only during the discussions of this session, but also throughout the year in which I am required by your constitution to assist you as your President.

THE FUNCTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

On one point, however, you too are entitled to an assurance from me, and I offer it to you without hesitation. I have been a fighter all my life, and, of course, I have been in the habit of throwing all the vehemence of an impulsive and impetuous nature into my fights. But your choice of me as your President has robbed me of my freedom, and to regain that freedom, if for nothing else, I would have willingly foregone the great privilege of presidng on this occasion. However, in the cast you have assigned to me the unfamiliar role of the peacemaker, and even a fighter like me has to confess that, if anything is better than a fight, it is peace. I have, therefore, deprived myself of the opportunity to fight in order to help the cause of peace and unity, and I do not regret the surrender. As your President I am here to serve you to the best of my power, and not in the capacity of a slave-driver, and if, in following the convention of political societies like yours, I have to inaugurate this session with an address, it is essentially in the spirit of a servant of yours that I do so, and not as a dictator. I am here to assist you to form judgments on the various issues that may come up for your decision, and, so far as it lies in the power of a fellow-worker and comrade of yours, I hope to help you to form only sound judgments, and to form them without waste of time, temper and energy. But these judgments must be yours, not mine; or, if you will, ours collectively in the truest sense. I have referred to the Mahatma's dominating personality, and we must admit how difficult it was to shake off his spell even for those rare individuals that desired to do so. I feel certain that Mahatma Gandhi neither asked, nor wanted anyone to surrender his judgment to him; and I have been told that just before his arrest he regretfully realised that quite a number of his followers and admirers, who had readily, and in all sincerity, signified their agreement with him, had failed to realize that they were offering their allegiance only to the man, and were not accepting his measures as well on the strength of their own clear conviction. It will be an impertinence for me even to disclaim any such influence as the Mahatma undoubtedly excercised over the people, and I am anxious that every vote cast on any side should be the result of the voter's own deliberate judgment, carrying with it the fullest individual responsibility. As for myself, if I kept back from you my own view of any matter of vital importance merely for fear that it might not be acceptable to you, I shall certainly not be serving you truly. For another thing, it would not be consistent with true democracy. But we shall only be making a mockery of democracy if freedom was denied to the delegates of the Congress merely to please its President, or silence was imposed on the many just to secure the goodwill of the few.

CONGRESS SESSION NOT DIVISION LOBBY.

Nevertheless, we have to understand that the country did not elect six thousand delegates, and we have not travelled to Cocanada from every corner of it as to division lobbies, merely to cast our votes, and to register our individual judgments already formed before we set out on our jojurney. What good could we do to ourselves and to others if, like Omar the Tent-Maker Poet of Persia, we "evermore came out by the same door where in we went"? If we do not wish to turn our journey into utter futility and so much labour lost, the opinions we had formed, individually or in groups, before we started, must be tested here by comparison with the opinions of our fellow-delegates and influenced by them. And it is no shame, but, on the contrary, very often much to our credit, if we change our views in deference to the judgments of others whom we credit with greater sagacity or experience, or to the cumulative weight of the judgment of a large majority of people, although they be in no way superior to us as individuals, even though at the time itself we are not fully convinced that our own views are wrong. I am second to no man in my respect for deeply cherished convictions. But convictions are not on every occasion to be treated as matters of conscience, and I have the support here of Cromwell, one of the most conscientious statesmen known to history, who used to implore his fellow-workers to remember that it was possible they might be mistaken.

PLEA FOR SELF-RESTRAINT AND ACCOMMODATION.

Every delegate has the right to give expression to his views with perfect freedom, and to do so on as many questions as he likes. He has also the right to move as many resolutions as he pleases; to move amendments to as many resolutions proposed by others as he thinks fit; and to divide the house as frequently as he chooses. But no real work is possible if such rights are exercised without proper consideration for the opinion and convenience of others, and particularly without regard for the best interests of a distressed and distracted nation. Our great chief had often to deplore that the enthusiasm of our people in their assemblages lacked self-restraint and discipline, and, in truth, it was their innate peace-loving nature and their good humour that so often proved their saving grace. Self-restraint and discipline can be taught to the masses only by such leaders as the Congress delegates, and the self-restraint and discipline of the delegates themselves is the best guarantee of the self-restraint and discipline of the masses. Above all, I trust that in giving expression to our views, no matter how strong, we shall avoid such partisanship as feeds on malice and revels in violent recriminations. Our great chief is noted throughout the world for his gospel of Non-Violence, and it would be a sad commentary on our allegiance to one who would not tolerate violence in thought or word towards an enemy if we excluded from our boasted Non-Violence our best friends. I would not for the world change popular enthusiasm into quietism or indifference. We need discipline, not death. We must have the necessary steam to propel the national machinery; but it must be under proper control. Closely allied to this is the principle of compromise and accommodation. Ours is nothing if not a war of principles, and we cannot afford to forsake principles even for the sake of peace. But short of that we are being called upon by the state of our nation to-day to make every sacrifice in order to accommodate those who are as staunch nationalists as ourselves, but who do not always see eye to eye with us. It is our particular distinction that our great chief has spiritualized politics, and we can no longer be content with a politics that is completely divorced from ethics. But in politics we may not always be able to secure the best. Life is one long second best, and there should be no bar against the second best if, by being content with it for the time being, we can carry large sections of the nation with us on the road to victory. Above all, let us not think of winning party victories when we have still to win the great victory of freedom against slavery, and of justice against a whole nation's wrongs. Forgive me, friends, for this homiletic preface, but I think I owed it to you as well as to myself. And now let us begin.

EFFECT OF THE MUTINY ON MUSALMANS.

I have referred to the fact that my association with the Congress is of very recent date; but this admission is not merely personal. It involves the political history of the community to which I belong, and if I give a brief outline of it to you, it is only for the purpose of elucidating a problem which is the most vital of all the problems we have to solve to-day. When, in 1885, some Indian leaders, assisted by their British sympathisers, founded the Indian National Congress, the Musalmans of India did not participate in the movement except in a few individual cases. If their lack of Western education made them unfit to take part in a movement essentially that of the classes educated according to Western notions, their political temper made them an element that was not unlikely to prove dangerous to any political movement. They had already lost the rule of India, but the tradition of that rule had survived. This had increased the aversion they had always felt for the new type of education. The rule of India had finally passed from Muslim into English hands by slow and hardly perceptible degrees in the hundred years that intervened between the battle of Plassey and the Indian Mutiny; but the Musalmans had not ceased to regard the new rulers of India as something very inferior to themselves in civilisation and culture. This storm of ill-will and disdain had been gathering force for a whole century, and was at last precipitated in 1857. The Mutiny began near Calcutta as an affair of the Indian army, but in the storm-centre of Delhi and of my own Province, where it had to be fought out if English rule was to continue in India, it soon attracted to itself many forms of discontent, and religion was inextricably mixed up with politics. Although so many Mussalmans had, at enormous risk to themselves, assisted the British at a time when hardly anyone could have predicted their eventual success with any degree of assurance, it was the Muslim aristocracy in those parts that suffered most from the terrible aftermath of the Mutiny. In fact, in its permanent results, even more than in some of its terrors, it could, without any great exaggeration, be compared to the social upheaval that the French Revolution meant to the old nobility of France. The remnants of Muslim aristocracy, deprived of all influence and of many of its possessions, certainly did not expect the return of Muslim rule. Nevertheless, a whole generation of Mussalmans kept sullenly aloof from all contact with the culture of the new rulers of India which in their heart of hearts they still despised. They were in no mood to take advantage of the education provided by the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, founded in the very year in which the Mutiny convulsed the regions which formed the political centre of Muslim India. It was a natural consequence of this attitude of Mussalmans who sulked in their tents that when, nearly thirty years later, a new generation of Indians, who owed their education to the English, inaugurated a political movement on Western lines, Indian Mussalmans should be unfit by lack of such education to participate in that movement. Nevertheless, the Congress which called itself "Indian" and

(Continued on next page.)

INDIA'S NEED OF THE HOUR.

(Continued from previous page)

"National" felt the need of Muslim participation, for it could not justify its title without it.

SYED AHMAD KHAN OPPOSES MUSLIM PARTICIPATION.

Efforts were therefore made early enough to enlist Mussalmans as delegates. But at this juncture Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the great pioneer of Western education among Mussalmans, stepped into the political arena, and in two historic speeches, one, delivered at Lucknow on the 28th December, 1887, and the other at Meerut on the 16th March, 1888, decisively checked whatever signs the Mussalmans had shown of political activity in support of the Congress movement. It is by no means a difficult task to criticise those speeches, for they contained many fallacies to which no politically-minded Mussalman could subscribe to-day. But I am not one of those who declare, merely on the strength of some ill-advised expressions characteristic of so militant a controversialist as Syed Ahmad Khan, that he was opposed to the co-operation of Hindus and Mussalmans.

TRUE NATURE OF HIS OPPOSITION.

Although his own public career after retirement from Public Service was identified with a movement for the uplift of his own community, he was a good Indian as well as a good Muslim, and many of his speeches prove him to have been an ardent patriot inspired with the love of Indian unity. And those who knew him personally can testify to the staunchness of his friendship with many Hindus, which could not have survived the narrow prejudices of which he has sometimes been accused.

No more true is the charge that he was opposed to Muslim participation in politics for all time. Whatever arguments he may have used in the two political utterances to which I have referred, to convince his Muslim hearers, there were two arguments, and two only, that had obviously convinced Syed Ahmad Khan himself of the undesirability of Muslim participation in the Congress at the time. He realised to the full that nothing would suit the temper of the Mussalmans of his day better than the vocation of critics of their British supplanters in the governance of India; and he also realised that such a pursuit would be as dangerous to the continuance and progress of a peaceful political movement like the Congress as it was easy. This was the first argument that impelled Syed Ahmad Khan to keep his community under restraint in politics. The second argument was no less potent. Mussalmans must educate themselves if they desired the uplift of their community, and yet it was no easy task to reconcile Mussalmans to Western education even in an institution of their own, which unlike Government colleges and schools would not divorce religious from secular learning. The easy pursuit of a policy in which the Muslims could act as destructive critics of the hated infidel Government was sure to offer superior attractions to the dull and drag constructive programme of the educationalist, and he therefore set himself to oppose all diversion of Muslim activities into the more attractive, but for the time being less useful, political channel. Reviewing the actions of a bygone generation to-day when it is easier to be wise after the event, I must confess I still think the attitude of Syed Ahmad Khan was eminently wise, and much as I wish that some things which he had said should have been left unsaid, I am constrained to admit that no well-wisher of Mussalmans, nor of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Mussalmans.

Be it remembered that the man who enunciated this policy was not at the time a *persona grata* to the major portion of the community, which he sought to lead. He was hated as a heretic because of the heterodoxy of his aggressive rationalism in interpreting the Holy Quran, and his militant opposition to popular superstitions believed in by the bulk of the orthodox and to shackling customs consecrated by time, though wholly unauthorised by Islam. He was abused and vilified by hundreds of thousands of his co-religionists, and for long the college that he had founded at Aligarh was the *bete noire* of the pious Muslim. And yet the entire community followed his political lead without a murmur. Neither fallacious arguments nor even political claptrap could have possessed such potency, and it is my firm belief that his advocacy succeeded mainly because of the soundness of the policy advocated.

For two decades thereafter the Mussalmans had hardly any politics or any political institution worth the name. On important occasions when Syed Ahmad Khan, and, of course, his British supporters, thought that any demand of the Congress if satisfied would not be productive of good for the Mussalmans, he would call together a few of his friends, mostly Trustees of the Aligarh College, who used to form a society bearing some such name as the "Muslim Defence Association", and a resolution of this body would be published in the "Pioneer" and in Syed Ahmad Khan's own local weekly newspaper in due course. That was all that the Mussalmans would do in those days in the field of politics.

I am far from denying that Syed Ahmad Khan knew perfectly well that his policy was more than acceptable to his official supporters, who would have in all likelihood put every possible obstruction in the way of his college and his Educational Conference if he had followed another less acceptable to them. But a very close study of his character leads me to declare that he was far from possessing the sycophancy with which some of his political critics have credited him. Indeed, even the opportunism of which his policy savoured could not have been entirely palatable to a nature so independent as his. In the year 1907, soon after the commencement of a new era in Muslim politics inaugurated by the foundation of the Muslim League, to which I shall presently refer, there occurred a strike of the students of Syed Ahmad Khan's College at Aligarh, owing to the support given against them by their own English Principal and Professors to the Police that had picked up a quarrel with one of them. Just about that time fell the anniversary of Syed Ahmad Khan's death celebrated annually in the College as the "Founder's Day." For that occasion I had written in Urdu an Ode addressed to the late Founder of my college, and referring to this unmistakable indication of the students' self respect and of their willingness to make the necesary self-sacrifice demanded by the haughty disdain of the foreigner, I had said:

(It is you that had taught the community all this "mischief"; if we are its culmination, you are its commencement).

"THE ARCH REBEL."

That I am not alone in this estimate of Syed Ahmad Khan's character and policy will be proved by an interesting conversation that I shall relate. Once when my brother was still in the Public Service, an old English official asked him who he thought was the greatest rebel in India against British Rule And, correcting my brother's answer, that experienced official had declared that it was no other than Syed Ahmad Khan loyalist of loyalists! When my brother protested against this astonishing judgment, he said: "Do you think young Mussalmans who are being taught at Aligarh almost as well as our own boys at Harrow and Winchester, who live their lives and can beat them at their own games, would obsequiously serve them when they come out as Indian Civilians or members of such other superior services. No, Mr. Shaukat Ali, the days of British rule in India are numbered, and it is your loyal Syed Ahmad Khan that is the arch-rebel to-day!"

Like only too many of us, this British official too had failed to realise the paralysing effect of the education given in the colleges and schools established or favoured by this foreign Government, and had only foreseen the dissatisfaction and discontent that it must inevitably produce. With a Muslim University, chartered, aided and controlled by Government still flourishing at Aligarh, so far as the numbers of the teachers and the taught are a University Chest filled with the contributions of the rich are concerned, though robbed of all generous ideals and national and communal ambitions, and existing side by side with another, poor in everything save its ideals and its dreams, into which my old college had seemed to have transformed itself three years ago. I cannot boast that the "arch-rebel" of Aligarh has altogether succeeded in his "rebellious" endeavour. But it is my firm conviction that he had always aimed and intended to produce staunch Muslims and patriotic Indians even if he could not perhaps contemplate a near enough future for India in which his "young barbarians all at play", could be other than "loyal British subjects."

ALIGARH AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

Nearly thirty years after the foundation of the Universities in the three Presidency towns of India—a period which corresponds with the growth of a new generation—the Congress had inevitably come into existence It was no easy task that Syed Ahmad Khan had accomplished in founding an Anglo-Oriental College of his own community within two decades of the Indian Mutiny in the very regions which had formed the storm-centre in 1857. In obedience, as it were, to a law of nature, once more nearly thirty years after the foundation of this College there came into being a political institution of the Mussalmans who had not availed themselves of the educational facilities provided by the State Universities, and could not consequently share in the political awakening which those Universities had indirectly brought about. And it is not without significance that fairly prominent among the founders of the Muslim League at Dacca at the end of 1906 were some alumni of Syed Ahmad Khan's own College.

This inaugurated a new era in the political life of the Indian Mussalmans. Some months previously a Muslim Deputation had waited at Simla on the Viceroy, Lord Minto, to place before him and his Government a statement of the Muslim demands in connection with the Minto-Morley Reforms then foreshadowed. To follow the fashion of British journalists during the War, "there is no harm *now* in saying" that the Deputation's was a "command" performance! It was clear that Government could no longer resist the demands of educated Indians, and, as usual, it was about to dole out to them a morsel that would keep them gagged for some years Hitherto the Mussalmans had acted very much like the Irish prisoner in the dock who, in reply to the judge's inquiry whether he had any counsel to represent him in the trial, had frankly replied that he had certainly not engaged counsel, but that he had "friends in the jury"! But now the Muslims "friends in the jury" had themselves privately urged that the accused should engage duly qualified counsel like all others. From whatever source the inspiration may have come, there is no doubt that the Muslim cause was this time properly advocated. In the common territorial electorates the Mussalmans had certainly not succeeded in securing anything like adequate or real representation, and those who denounced and deplored the creation of separate electorates for which the Mussalmans had pleaded should have remembered that separate electorates were the consequence, and *not* the cause, of the separation between Mussalmans and their more numerous Hindu brethren.

SEPARATE ELECTORATES HASTEN INDIAN UNITY.

But little could the official supporters of the Muslim community have suspected at the time that, paradoxical as it may seem, the creation of separate electorates was hastening the advent of Hindu-Muslim unity. For the first time a real franchise, however restricted, was being offered to Indians and if Hindus and Musalmans remained just as divided as they had hitherto been since the commencement of British rule, and often hostile to one another, mixed electorates would have provided the best battle-ground for inter-communal strifes, and would have still further widened the gulf separating the two communities. Each candidate for election would have appealed to his own community for votes, and would have based his claims for preference on the intensity of his ill-will towards the rival community, however disguised this may have been under some such formula as "the deference of his community's interests." Bad as this would have been, the results of an election in which the two communities were not equally matched would have been even worse, for the community that failed to get its representative elected would have inevitably borne a yet deeper grudge against its successful rival. Divided as the two communities were, there was no chance for any political principles coming into prominence during the elections. The creation of separate electorates did a great deal to put a stop to this inter-communal warfare, though I am far from oblivious of the fact that when inter communal jealousies are acute, the men that are more likely to be returned even from communal electorates are just those who are noted for their ill-will towards the rival community.

"UNITED FAITHS OF INDIA."

In the controversy that raged round the representation of Musalmans *as a community* I had taken my full share; but no sooner the Muslim claim had been recognised in practice in the elections to the enlarged councils in 1910, I decided to launch a weekly journal of my own from the seat of the Government of India in order to assist my community in taking its proper share in the political life of the country. I was particularly anxious to help it to understand that, while endeavouring to satisfy the pressing needs of the present, which would inevitably bring it now and then into conflict with other elements in the body-politic, it should never lose sight of the prospects of the future when ultimately all communal interests had to be adjusted so as to harmonise with the paramount interests of India.

AN EARLY DREAM.

I had long been convinced that here in this country of hundreds of millions of human beings, intensely attached to religion, and yet infinitely split up into communities, sects and denominations, Providence had created for us the mission of solving a unique problem and working out a new synthesis, which was nothing less than a "Federation of Faiths!" As early as in 1904, when I had been only two years in India after my return from Oxford, I had given to this idea a clear, if still somewhat hesitating expression, in an address delivered at Ahmedabad on the "Proposed Mahomedan University" "Unless some new force."—this is what I had said on that occasion—"unless some new force, *other than the misleading unity of opposition*, unites this vast continent of India, it will either remain a geographical misnomer, or what I think it will ultimately do, become a Federation of Religions." I had noted the strength of the centrifugal force of Indian communities; and yet hope and faith and the deep yearning for freedom had even then made me realise the latent centripetal force of Indian unity. The lines of cleavage were too deeply marked to permit a unity other than federal; and yet, as I had observed in the address from which I have already quoted, the cleavage was not territorial or racial in character, but religious. For more than twenty years I have dreamed the dream of a federation, grander, nobler and infinitely more spiritual than the United States of America, and to-day when many a political Cassandra professes a return to the bad old days of Hindu-Muslim dissensions, I still dream that old dream of "United *Faiths* of India." It was in order to translate this dream into reality that I had launched my weekly newspaper, and had significantly called it *The Comrade*—"comrade of all and partisan of none."

Friends, is it so entirely out of place if I quote a little from the first words that I had contributed to the first issue of the *Comrade*? In view of the political controversy that has been raging in India. I naturally shrank from relating my dream when making my *debut* before a sceptical, matter-of-fact world. And yet the dream was all the time there for those who did not despise dreams.

"We have no faith (I wrote on the 14th January, 1911,) in the cry that India is united. If India was united where was the need of dragging the venerable President of this year's Congress from a distant home? The bare imagination of a feast will not dull the edge of hunger. We have less faith still in the sanctimoniousness that transmutes in its subtle alchemy rapacious monopoly into fervent patriotism.

"Even as poor birds deceiv'd
with painted grapes.
"Do surfeit by the eye, and
pine the maw."

those of us who cannot distinguish true gold from the glitter of spurious coins, will one day surfeit by the ear and pine the heart. But the person we love best, fear the most, and trust the least is the impatient idealist. Goethe said of Byron that he was a prodigious poet, but that when he reflected he was a child. Well, we think no better and no worse of the man who combines great deals and a greater impatience. So many efforts, well-meaning as well as ill-begotten, have failed in bringing unity to this distracted land, that we cannot spare even cheap and scentless flowers of sentiment for the grave of another ill-judged endeavour. We shall not make the mistake of cumming together pieces of broken glass, and then cry over the unsuccessful result, or blame the refractory material. In other words, we shall endeavour to face the situation boldly, and respect facts, howsoever ugly and ill-favoured. It is poor statesmanship to slur over inconvenient realities, and not the least important success in achieving unity is the honest and frank recognition of deep-seated prejudices that hinder it and the yawning differences that divide.

But while providing for to-day, we must not forget the morrow. It is our firm belief that if the Mussalmans or the Hindus attempt to achieve success in opposition to, or even without the co-operation of one another, they will not only fail, but fail ignominiously. But every step has to be taken with caution. Nothing in history, ancient or modern, provides a useful analogy to the condition of modern India. History never repeats itself. But it is still the best educative force for mankind, and it has its lessons for us also. The problems of India are almost international. But when the statesmen and philanthropists of Europe, with all its wars of interests and national jealousies, do not despair of abolishing war and placing Pax on the throne of Bellona shall we despair of Indian nationality? We may not create to-day the patriotic fervour and the fine national frenzy of Japan with its forty millions of homogeneous people. But a concordat like that of Canada is not beyond the bounds of practicability. It may not be a love-marriage, born of romance and poetry. But a *marriage de convenance*, honourably contracted and honourably maintained, is not to be despised. Let us begin with honest prose, and the Muses will not forbid the banns. Even this is no easy task. But it is one worthy of the sons and daughters of India, and deserves their toil and self-sacrifice. O! Unity,

"Thou wilt come, join men, knit
nation unto nation;
"But not for us who watch to-
day and burn.
"Thou wilt come; but after what
long years of trial,
"Weary watching, Patient longing,
dull denial!"

Friends, three years ago we were privileged to catch more than a fleeting glimpse of the unity of which I had dreamed and if to-day we have to admit, as we must, that the dream has not been realised as fully as we wish, we shall have once more to examine the situation carefully and to face inconvenient facts with candour and with courage. I propose to do that presently, but not to break the thread of my narrative I revert to the situation as it existed at the time when I made my journalistic *debut*.

MUSLIMS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

As I had foreseen the separate electorates returned both Hindus and Musalmans who were not averse to combine in the various legislatures to support the popular cause. Nevertheless, inter-communal hostility did not altogether cease in the country. A new element was, however, unexpectedly added to the situation by the aggression of Western nations against Muslim States and its effect on Muslim sentiment in India, and although there are not wanting even to-day staunch non-Muslim nationalists who look askance at Indian Muslim feeling with regard to Muslim affairs abroad, a little reflection would show that the new element to which I have referred, even while undoubtedly diverting the attention of Indian Musalmans to some extent from affairs at home, hastened Muslim disillusionment with regard to their traditional reliance on their foreign Government and thereby contributed greatly to Indian unity.

THE OUTLOOK IN 1911.

I had intended the "Comrade" to be the organ that was to voice the sentiments I entertained regarding the need of an inter-communal federation for India. It was to prepare the Musalmans to make their proper contribution to territorial patriotism without abating one jot of the fervour of their extra-territorial sympathies, which are, as you must know, part of the quintessence of Islam. When I first thought of launching on a career of journalism I did not expect that any but a small fraction of my attention and energies would be attracted by Muslim politics outside the confines of my own country. It is true that affairs in Egypt did not present a very re-assuring appearance; nor did the new Constitutions in Turkey and Persia receive, after an initial outburst of welcome, their full measure of sympathy which we in India felt to be due to such heroic and hazardous enterprises from England, the one European Power with which we had all along been exclusively concerned. The only other European Power on our political horizon had been Russia. So long as after the overthrow of France a hundred years previously she was the most considerable of the Powers on the continent of Europe, and had further aggravated that situation by aiming at being a yet greater Power on the continent of Asia, everyone in India had been sedulously taught by the masters of India's destinies to regard her as the enemy of mankind, and to believe that it was the sacred mission of England to thwart and defeat her. But the rapid rise of Japan and its signal success in defeating Russia in the Far East, while it encouraged other oriental nations to hold up their heads and to hope, so radically altered the position of Russia that, from being an inveterate enemy, she became a friend and in all but name an ally of England, even though it was her victorious adversary that had been, and still remained, the acknowledged and official ally of that nation. This speedily reacted on Eastern politics, not only in Persia, where Russia openly stood up as a high-handed dictator, and where it was soon to cause a hail-storm of ultimatums, but also in Turkey, where the rivalries of the Slav and Teuton now reappeared with added vehemence in the form of a struggle between Entente and Alliance Once more had the Near East become the storm-centre of European politics.

All this was no doubt disquieting enough to Indian Musalmans who had been brought up from their childhood to regard England as the friend and Russia as the enemy of Muslim States. But the political controversies of Hindus and Musalmans appeared none-the-less to be their immediate concern in India. The passions that these inter-communal differences had unfortunately aroused just a little previously had lent to them the semblance of acute international conflict, while Turkey and Persia still seemed comparatively remote.

But things did not proceed precisely in the way in which I had so optimistically forecasted. The year 1911 proved a fateful year for Muslim States. The new Governments of Turkey, Persia and Morocco all began to meet with squalls in their initial voyage of reform and progress, which soon developed into regular storms.

THE DURBAR ANNOUNCEMENT.

In India, too, the year proved more fateful for Musalmans than anyone could have predicted. Just before the close of the year the King-Emperor made a portentous Announcement at Delhi where he had come ostensibly to announce in person in an Imperial Durbar only the event of his coronation that year. It was admittedly an "abrupt departure from the tradition of British Government and a complete dislocation of official habits." But this unusual procedure, and the secrecy which had been maintained, not only at the expense of India but also at that of the Local Governments, were justified on the ground that the Imperial Announcement was "one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of the British rule in India", and that the discussion of measures which were being taken in consequence of an agitation that indicated "bitterness of feeling", and was at the same time "very widespread and unyielding," would have in its turn caused endless agitation. As we all know, the Announcement comprised a readjustment of territories upsetting Lord Curzon's vindictive Partition of Bengal and the creation of the new Province of Behar and Orissa after the re-union of Bengal, East and West. It also indirectly penalised Bengal by shifting the capital to Delhi. As I wrote in the "Comrade" at the time, I was in favour of both these schemes, "taking each by itself as wholly unconnected schemes", and "irrespective of the time, place and procedure preferred by the Government of India for the Announcement." The Partition in the form then approved was due in 1905, and the transfer of the capital was needed in 1858. Lords Curzon and Midleton had sinned in a hurry, and it would have seemed that Lords Hardinge and Crewe were repenting at leisure. But it was clear from the King-Emperor's Announcement as well as from the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, that "the key-stone of the whole project" was the "proposal to make Delhi the future capital of India"; that it was only "as a consequence of the transfer" that the Partition was modified; that the Bengalis were expected to be "reconciled to the change" of capital by *"other features of the scheme which were specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengali sentiment"*; and that the re-union of the two Bengals was no more than "the compensation which will be offered to Bengali sentiment" for "the objections to the transfer which are likely to be entertained in some quarters." There was not a word in the Government of India's Despatch about such things as the financial embarrassment of the administration in Eastern Bengal, the unsatisfactory results of yoking Assam with a part of Bengal, or the difficulties of communication between the Rajshahi Division and Dacca, all of which could have been utilized to justify the unsettlement of a "settled fact." The Partition of 1905 was indeed acknowledged in that Despatch to have fulfilled "two of the chief purposes which its authors had in view." "It relieved", so ran the Despatch, "the over-burdened administration of Bengal, and it gave the Mahomedan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had, perhaps, hitherto not had their fair share." But Bengal had to be deprived of the distinction of claiming the capital of India as its own capital as well, and of the opportunities it had thus enjoyed of criticising the Government of India and subjecting it to constant pressure from such close quarters. We had already been familiarised, to the extent of feeling downright moral contempt for it, with the Doctrine of Compensation in the foreign politics of Europe, according to which Morocco had been given to France for the sake of a free hand for the English in Egypt, and Tripoli had been all but given to Italy, while Germany had made her famous *Panther* leap at Agadir. This fatal doctrine had now peacefully penetrated into the internal administration of India. "Eastern Bengal and Assam", wrote the Government of India, "have no doubt benefitted greatly by the Partition, and the Mahomedans of the province, who form a large majority of the population, are loyal and contented; but the resentment among the Bengalis in both the provinces of Bengal, who hold most of the land, fill the professions and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs, is as strong as ever." As I wrote on that occasion, "what could be easier than to politely disburden the loyal and contented Peter of his few worldly belongings in order to lad the discontented, if not disloyal, Paul with rewards and compensation? The Musalmans have no *Panther* to send to Agadir, and it is too well-established a rule of diplomacy that: no *Panther*, no compensation!"

ITS REACTION ON MUSLIM POLITICS.

While I declared in the "Comrade" that "in our judgment the Musalmans should accept the decision of the Government", I could not but say that they had deserved a better fate. Before the Partition they had laboured under many difficulties and had endured everything quietly as only the weak can endure. It was not they that had clamoured and agitated for the Partition. Nevertheless, the Partition came to them as a well-deserved though wholly unexpected blessing. Their condition had begun to improve, and with that their ambitions and hopes. It may even be confessed that, like all *noveaux riches*, these political parvenus sometimes held their heads too high and strutted about in the peacock manner. But, like the exaltation born of a draught of haschish, it did not last long, and the reaction came with a suddenness and a force that were terrible. The emancipated slaves were, so to speak, once more sold into bondage, and who does not know that revenge is sweet? Their old masters could have been excused if on being placed once more in the position of the slave-driver they had used the lash and the bastinado a little too lavishly. The Musalmans of Eastern Bengal had been made to fight the battle of their rulers, against their neighbours, and now that it was no longer convenient for the rulers to continue the fight, they had made their own peace with all convenient speed, and had left the Musalmans to the mercy of those against whom they had been used as auxiliaries. It would be hard to discover in history a more ignoble instance of betrayal in which "loyalty" has been rewarded with deprivation of recently recovered rights, and "contentment" has been punished as the worst of crimes. Perhaps I may mention without any indiscretion that, when immediately after the Announcement I drove over in haste to interview Sir Charles Bayley, the head of the Local Government now thrown on the scrap-heap, I met Lord Sinha and Sir Benode Mitter, who asked me what I thought of the Announcement. I told them that in the case of the Hindus of Bengal the Announcement had been a matter of "give-and-take", that for "sturdy, loyal" Beharis it had been one of "take" only, but that for the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal it had been one of nothing but "give", and as a reward for their loyalty and contentment they had been given a generous helping of humble pie. And then I walked off with the mumbled prayer that they might be spared too acute an attack of indigestion! In the Durbar itself a little earlier I remember that I had been accosted by my old friend Sir Charles Cleveland, Director of the Criminal Intelligence Department, as I was hastily perusing the Announcement. As it happened, I was among the very first in the Press Camp to receive a copy of it from the hands of the official who was distributing them. Sir Charles had humour, as only he could be if there was anything in the Announcement for me or for him, and I had replied with ill-suppressed bitterness that there was nothing for me, but that there was plenty of work for him. And who can say that my prophecy has not proved true?

Friends, I have gone into this matter at considerable length only because the Announcement has always appeared to me to be a very distinct land-mark in the political progress of the Musalmans. Nothing could have more clearly convinced them that their dependence upon a foreign Government for support against sister communities laid them perpetually open to such betrayals. They now realised that they could place no reliance on such support, whether at home or abroad, and it set them thinking that perhaps at a much smaller sacrifice of their interests they could purchase lasting peace and even secure the friendship of their neighbours and fellow-countrymen.

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S CREED.

The Muslim League, although never an anti-Hindu or anti-Congress organisation, had at its birth in the very midst of the Partition agitation, naturally emphasised in its creed the protection of communal interests and loyalty to Government, even though it had also included therein the promotion of harmony and concord with sister-communities. A year after the Durbar Announcement, the Council of the League recommended a change in the creed, and it emphasised in the new creed that it recommended "Self Government suitable for India" as its ideal. In commenting upon this change, which was eventually accepted by the League in its annual session in the following March, I had stated that for the Musalmans their new political creed was but "the half-way house from which their ultimate destination was clearly visible" and I do not think I can do better in helping you to form a just estimate of our position to-day than quote from the *Comrade* of that date the following passage which I would ask all Nationalists, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, to consider carefully:

But it is not so much on the reform of the administration by the administrators and those to whom they are responsible, nor even on the relationship that comes to exist between the ruler and the ruled that the attainment of self-Government depends. Self-Government is the necessary corollary of self-realisation, and India as a whole has not yet realised herself. Once her conflicting interests, warring creeds and rival communities not only conceive that India can be one in her soul as she is in her body, but feel her unity as an individual, feels the unity of his individual self inspite of the diversity of the various members and organs of his body, and the varying moods of his intellect and soul, there is no power in the world that can deny her self-government. But we would warn our countrymen against playing the sedulous ape in their methods of nation-making as we have warned them in the matter of their choosing their political goal..... In India political unity can be achieved not so much by annihilating smaller units that may appear to conflict with the ultimate scheme of unity, but by recognising their force and inevitableness. If we could choose a motto for a society of nation-makers in India, we could suggest nothing better than what the United States of America have adopted. India is to be a 'pluribus unum.'

MUSALMANS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

In foreign affairs the year 1912 had opened with far different prospects from those of 1911. Up to the last, Indian Musalmans had entertained the hope that things would right themselves. But this did not happen, and the year ended even worse than it had begun. The sad disillusionment with regard to international morality for which the shameless brigandage of Italy in Tripoli was responsible had greatly affected the Musalmans in the autumn of 1911. If any further disillusionment was needed it was supplied by the action of Russia in Persia and Britain's "sanctimonious acquiescence." In both cases the utmost brutality characterised European aggression. Who can forget the massacres in the Tripoli Oasis or the celebration in Persia of the New Year, which coincided with the anniversary of the Tragedy of Kerbala, when, among others, the Siqat-ul-Islam, the highest ecclesiastic of Northern Persia—"a man universally respected alike for his learning, his piety and his tolerance"— was hanged by the Russians. If anything could surpass these things in the anguish they caused to Muslim minds, it was the threatened aeroplane attack on the Holy Kaaba by Italy and the actual bombardment of Holy Meshad by Russia

(Continued on next page.)

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INDIA'S NEED OF THE HOUR.

(Continued from previous page.)

which followed them. Truly did Mr. Shuster declare at a banquet given in his honour by the Persia Committee in London on his vi there, after his expulsion from Persia: "I am not bitter about my own experience, but I should be a hypocrite if I pretended not to sympathise with the bitterness of the Mahomedan people who have so forcibly learned the lesson that the Ten Commandments do not apply to international politics. Let anyone who doubts this review the events of the past year." These bitter experiences were destined to be followed by those still more bitter in 1912 in the autumn of which broke out the Balkan War, which at one time threatened to expel the Turks from Europe after nearly five hundred years.

REACTION ON MUSLIM FEELING IN INDIA.

The attitude of England towards the enemies of Turkey, Persia and Morocco had begun to alienate the sympathies of Indian Musalmans from England ever since 1911; and this estrangement could not but react on their relations with the British officials here, who, in spite of their detestation of the Radcal politicians in power in England, could not help looking askance at Indians daring to criticise an English Government with a candour and a courage unusual in a subject race. The *Comrade* case, which for the first time brought home to Indians the power of the now defunct Press Act for evil, was concerned, as many of you may still remember, with the forfeiture of a pamphlet received from the Turks. In this they had only appealed to England for Christian succour against the Balkan Allies whose Macedonian atrocities were therein depicted. While this litigation was gong on, the fatal developments following on the demolition of part of a small mosque at Cawnpore embittered Muslim feeling still further. In consequence of all this I had proceeded to England, in company with the then Secretary of the Muslim League, to appeal to the British Government and persuade it to alter a policy, Indian as well as foreign, that seemed to bode no good to anybody, and which was sure to drive the Muslims to despair. In this we partly succeeded; but within a year events of far greater magnitude occurred in which **the entire** world was involved. The War and the events leading to the participation of Turkey not on the same side as England undid all the good that we had expected to follow the friendly Deputation of Indian Musalmans which we had taken to wait on Lord Hardinge earlier in the year, and which had been received by the Viceroy with every show of good-will.

OUTBREAK OF WAR AND MUSLIM FEELING IN INDIA.

When the war with Germany broke out, I think I fairly represented the feeling of educated and responsible Indian Musalmans who were too self-respecting to play the sycophant when I wrote in the "Comrade" of the 1 August 1914, as follows:—

"There are still some sane people among Indians themselves, and though they do not advertise the offer of their personal services to the Government, whatever influence they possess with the people would be used to decrease rather than increase the Government's embarrassment. They could offer no better guarantee than this that they regard India's connection with Great Britain as, at the present stage of India's growth, indispensable; and we are sure that the less lofty motive of self-interest would wear better and stand the strain of circumstances longer than the lip-loyalty of Ji-Huzurs.

"Whether Great Britain has respected Muslim Indian feeling in her dealings with Turkey, Persia, Morocco, or not; whether the utterances of His Majesty's Ministers regarding the Turks in their life and death struggle during the last war have been just and consistent, or unjust and inconsistent; whether their action following two breaches of treaty obligations, by Austria in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by Italy in the Tripolitaine, have tallied or not with the recent public proclamation of their sense of the sacredness of treaties; whether their conscience has revolted or not at the slaughter of babes and sucklings, unprotected womanhood and bed-ridden age in Tripoli and the Balkans; whether the white Colonials' treatment of their coloured fellow-citizens of the same Empire has been fair or otherwise: whether the Home Government has exerted its full pressure on the Colonials to right the wrong, or has only assumed an incredible impotence; whether Indians claim for an equitable adjustment of rights and duties and for a fair share in guiding the destinies of their own country have been met by the British Bureaucracy in the spirit of friendliness, or of jealousy and rancour; whether in the annulment of the Partition of Bengal the Musalmans were treated with due consideration for their loyalty, or it was underrated and their contentment taken too much for granted; whether the sanctity of their places of worship and the integrity of their graveyards have been uniformly respected, or sometimes lightly sacrificed to the Moloch of Prestige—we say that, irrespective of any or all these considerations, or rather because we have carefully weighed them all against the one supreme consideraton, our need of England and her tutelage at the present stage of our national and communal growth, and found her good exceeding by a great deal her evil, we shall remain loyal to her as only freemen can remain loyal, with a sincere devotion and an unbought submission, and this whether she crushes the naval power of Germany and becomes a dictator to Europe, or the last ship of her mighty Armada sinks in the North Sea and her last soldier falls down and dies round Liege or London. Even if England may not need us, we have need of her. Believing in political purity rather than in political prudery, we have entered the lists with her biggest bureaucrats in India in time of peace. But in time of war the clash of steel in civic battles must cease and the voice of controversy must be hushed, and if we cannot hastily command in others an enthusiasm for this war which we ourselves do not feel, let us once and for all assure the Government that, so far as we and those within the orbit of our influence are concerned, they can sleep in peace. Let alone Provincial satraps and the still greater despots of their districts their meanest, if not their humblest, policeman will find us at his beck and call whenever civic excitement has to be allayed. More than this we cannot proclaim. Less than this we shall not confess. This is and has always been our creed and to that we shall adhere."

Friends, I fear, I must have exhausted your patience with these long quotations from the "Comrade", but I feel certain of your indulgence if you would only consider the object I have in view. This long narration is intended to show to the world how different were the feelings of Indian Musalmans towards this Government until quite recent times, and what patience we had shown in the face of injustice, indifference and continued callousness.

TURKEY AND INDIAN MUSLIM FEELING.

At the suggestion of Government, and through its own medium, I had even cabled, along with **my friend Dr. Ansari,** to the lamented Talaat Pasha urging the Turks to think a thousand times before they participated in the War. And even when war was being forced on Turkey by ill-advised threats such as those of the "London Times," my very long, well-known and in the English Press extensively quoted and highly approved article, in reply to that of the "Times," on the "Choice of the Turks," had shown to what lengths Indian Musalmans were then prepared to go in assisting their foreign Government.

I shall only quote to you the final conclusion at which after very careful and detailed reasoning I had myself arrived in that article, and which I had recommended to the Musalmans for adoption as the policy of the community:

"All truly loyal people (I wrote) have closed the chapter of civic controversy with the officials and into that book they are likely to look no more. Whatever our grievances, whatever reforms we desire, everything must wait for a more seasonable occasion. Even if the Government were to concede to us all that we ever desired or dreamt; if, for instance the Muslim University were offered to us on our own terms, or the Press Act repeal were to be announced; or even if Self-Government were to be conceded to us, we would humbly tell Government this is no time for it, and we must for the present decline such concessions with thanks. Concessions are asked for and accepted in peace We are not Russian Poles. We need no bribes!

A conclusion such as this had recommended itself even to the Calcutta correspondent of the "Morning Post." And yet it was for publishing this very article that I forfeited the security of the "Comrade" Press and had in consequence to discontinue that paper. It was then that a distinguished weekly journal of England, "The New Statesman," severely criticised the Government of India in a leading article sarcastically headed "Encouraging Loyalty in India"! And when the war with Turkey actually broke out, a representative of the Associated Press and Reuter interviewed me at Delhi and subsequently informed me that the interview was much appreciated by the Viceroy who had seen it before publication. I had predicted in the previous article that even if war broke out with the Turks the anchor of the Indian Musalmans' loyalty would hold, and now that war had broken out I repeated that the anchor still held. I asked them to commend their souls to God and to place their services at the disposay of the Government for the preservation of peace and tranquillity in India. I compared their position to that of the children of parents who had quarrelled with one another.. "Right may be on one side or the other, but the sorrow and suffering are in any case those of the children."

THE LIMITS OF MUSLIM "LOYALTY."

In this interview, as also in the last leading article the "Comrade" was permitted to publish before it closed its doors it was clearly indicated that Musalmans were placing implicit reliance on the solemn pledges given by the British Government and Britain's Allies with regard to their faith and the Holy Places of Islam. I had distinctly pointed out that *Arabia must not be attacked nor must the protection of Islam's Holy Places by a really independent Muslim Power be endangered.* This was the least to which Indian Musalmans were entitled unless their religion was required by their non-Muslim Government to be a matter of no consequence to them as compared with their "loyalty" to that Government. I may add that I had concluded my interview with the statement that the Muslims could be trusted to act on the precept of Jesus Christ, to render unto Caesar what is due to Caesar. But I was informed by the distinguished journalist who had recorded the interview that the Censor of Press telegrams, who was no doubt a good Christian, while passing the rest of the message, had carefully scored out the exhortation of Jesus Christ. No doubt that astute official who believed in the supremacy of the State over the Church, thought that if the Muslims were reminded of their duty to render unto Caesar what was due to Caesar, they might perchance remember the accompanying exhortation also to render unto God what was due to God!

DEFIANCE OF MUSLIM RELIGION.

This was precisely what happened before very long, and the history of our betrayal is too recent to be repeated in any detai.. During the War Musalmans were required, in defiance of their religious obligations, to assist Government in waging war against the Khalifia and those engaged in Jihad. The Jazirat-ul-Arab, which includes Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, and which Musalmans were required by their faith at all times to keep free from non-Muslim occupation and control, was attacked and occupied by Great Britain and her Allies, and is still under their control in defiance of their Prophet's well-known testamentary injunction. The Holy Places of Islam, *which are not particular buildings merely, but territories,* including the three Sacred Harams of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, have been filched from the Successor of the Prophet and Commander of the Faithful, who is their only accredited Servant and Warden, and even to-day he is not permitted to occupy, defend and serve them. The dismemberment of the Empire of the Khalifa; the appointment of non-Muslim mandatories to control various portions of it; and the consequent weakening of the temporal power of Islam to the point of danger to its spiritual influence, through the possible pressure of the temporal power of rival creeds, were openly advocated wy the Allies, and none of them insisted upon this course so relentlessly up to the last as Great Britain in herself. As we all know, Greece was her own brutal nominee and agent in the execution of this policy even after the armistice in defiance of all laws of peace or war, and howsoever much the other Allies also may have resisted Ismet Pasha at Lausanne, it was Great Britain herself that was the chief obstacle in the path of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha to the very end of this tragic tale. Discrimination was made against Muslim governments and populations in various other ways also, such as by the denial of self-determination to the Muslim populations of territories forcibly annexed or occupied and controlled by non-Muslim Powers While all this was going on, Indian Muslim opinion unrepresented at the Peace Conference, and represented before the Allies themselves only by unrepresentative Musalmans, was vigorously suppressed in India by means of those well-known engines of tyranny and terrorism, the Press **Act, the Defence** of India Act Regulation III of 1818 and, finally, the declaration of Martial Law in parts of India, over and above the abuse of the ordinary penal law of the land.

THE TIME WAS RIPE FOR RE-UNION.

I have already declared it as my view that the bitter experience of ill-will against the Muslim States and populations abroad hastened the conversion of the Musalmans to the view that to rely on this foreign and non-Muslim Government for support and sympathy, even after making every conceivable sacrifice for its sake, was futile, and that if they were **in need of support and** sympathy they must have a lasting, equitable settlement with the sister communities of India. The same course was clearly indicated by the betrayal of the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal. And the time too was ripe for a Hindu-Muslim re-union. True partnership and association, whether in business, social relationship or in love, requires that there should be no great disparity between those that are to associate together as partners, friends or lovers. The same is true of politics. Union of the rich and the poor, of the old and the young, of the learned and the ignorant, is perhaps possible but far from common; and it was a true instinct that guided Syed Ahmad Khan in opposing, a generation previously, the yoking together of the strong and the weak. During the controversy with regard to the Minto-Morley Reforms, however Musalmans had developed to some extent the quality of self-assertion so necessary in politics. But ever since the outbreak of the Tripolitan war they had had to struggle against the repressive policy of the Government, and it is not with a view to praise my own community that I say it has now to a considerable extent made up the distance between itself and the more advanced communities of India by dint of forced marches which it had to undertake throughout this momentous period.

THE RAPPROCHEMENT.

It was at my brother's suggestion and my own during our internment that in 1915 the Muslim League held its annual session at Bombay where the Congress was also to meet. Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque, the veteran Congressman, who was nevertheless one of the founders of the Muslim League, and who had valiantly stuck to the Congress all these years in spite of the fact that the bulk of his community was still following the lead of Syed Ahmad Khan given thirty years ago was now elected President of the Muslim League with great *eclat*. He was called upon to execute the mandate of his own community and bring about a joint meeting of the political leaders in the camps of the League and the Congress in order to adjust the future political relations of the various communities concerned. Mr. Jinnah's persuasive advocacy was added to the vigour of the President, and, last but not least, the audacious courage and vehement perseverence of that intrepid Muslim patriot, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, brought about the *rapprochement* which was to bear fruit in the following year in the historic Lucknow Compact. So rapid had been the progress of the Musalmans that a mildewed critic from among their own community observed that Lord Sinha, the Bengali President of the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress, had travelled thither by the same train as his Behari neighbour and brother-lawyer who presided over the Muslim League, and the two had borrowed one another's Presidential Addresses in order to compare notes. But, said the critic with more wit than wisdom, the two Presidents forgot to take back their own productions, and by an irony of fate Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque had to read to his Muslim audience as his own the pungent oration characteristic of the Bengali, and Lord Sinha had done likewise and read to the Congress delegates the cautious and halting address of the "ever-loyal" Muslim.

Government had now come to realise what would be the inevitable result of the Bombay *rapprochement*, and it is a matter of history how the Muslim Leaguers were compelled to conclude *in camera* the session begun under such auspices. Thenceforward, the Congress and the Muslim League always met for their annual sessions at the same centre and worked in entire co-operation. The result was inevitable and could well have been foreseen. If the Congress President of the Ahmedabad Session was lodged in the Alipore gaol when he should have been occupying the Presidential chair at Ahmedabad, the President of the Muslim League for the same year was indicted for waging war against the King at Ahmedabad itself on account of his Presidential address, and, even when acquitted by the unanimous verdict of the jury on that charge, was consigned to the Ahmedabad gaol after being convicted of sedition. It is a feather in the Muslim cap that while Srijut Das has brilliantly led the Swarajists to victory in Bengal and elsewhere, his Muslim *confrere* Maulana Hasrat Mohani is now sharing the honours of Yerrowda gaol with Mahatma Gandhi, having in the meantime more than doubled his original sentence, in spite of the restricted opportunities for indulging in criminal practices that a prisoner's life affords and has thus corrected the error of a blundering jury!

MUSLIM REALIZATION OF LARGER INDIAN INTERESTS.

But it was not only a case of safeguarding Muslim communal interests without leaning for support eternally on a foreign Government and harbouring suspicions against sister communities. Musalmans would have been more than human, or less than that if they had been indifferent to the continued injustice done to India and Indians collectively. Having been taught by their political preceptors in the past that Government could never for long leave a wrong unredressed, they had followed the policy of "wait and see". They had waited long, and yet all that they saw was a series of wrongs done to India—wrongs which remained unrepented and unredressed. Their patience was at last giving way and they were beginning to enlist as Congress members in annually increasing numbers. This was a hopeful indication of their realizing that they had to protect not only their comparatively petty communal interests but also the larger Indian national interests, which were surely theirs to protect as those of sister communities. They now realized more than ever that by being Muslims they could not cease to be Indians. The Congress sessions of Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi had progressively justified the National appellation of the Congress. But it was reserved for General Dyer to break down entirely the barrier that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had for temporary purposes erected more than thirty years previously, and to summon the Musalmans of India to the Congress held at Amritsar in 1919 as the unsuspecting Herald of India's Nationhood. The bullets of his soldiery made no distinction between Hindu and Muslim, and clearly Providence had so designed things that a community even more loyal than the Musalmans, namely our brave Sikh brothers, should also dye the sacred soil of their religious capital at Amritsar with their own blood along with that of Hindu and Muslim martyrs.

THE COMING OF THE MAHATMA.

Much of the suffering undergone at Jallianwalla Bagh was, however, of a passive character, not invited nor cheerfully borne, and the terror that the proceedings of the administrators of Martial Law had created seemed at one time to have paralysed the people of the Punjab soon after they had discovered their national identity through common suffering. But the Punjab was not left to sorrow alone. More than one patriotic Indian proceeded to the Punjab; but I feel confident they themselves would be the first to admit that I do them no injustice when I declare that the most historic event that took place during those eventful days was the "Coming of the Mahatma!"

The Mahatma's story is too well-known to you all, and now happily to a good-many well-informed people outside India also, for me to recapitulate it here. His experiences in South Africa had taught him that it was idle to expect justice for Indians overseas unless justice was done to Indians at home and India secured a government of her own. This, of course, did not mean that the British connection must necessarily be broken; and even to-day not only he, whose forbearance is proverbial, but also followers of his like myself who cannot pretend to be equally forbearing, believe in spite of the bitter experiences of the last few years, that the truest Swaraj for India is not incompatible with the British connection if the British nation and the British Government only undergo a change of heart and make a *prayaschit* for the past. It was no doubt to deliver India from her bonds, spiritual no less than political, that the Mahatma had returned to the Motherland.

But the methods that he himself believed in and inculcated to his fellow-countrymen were not those that would be called "political" in the politics-ridden West. To him, as to all great teachers of mankind, Life was a single synthesis, however much we might analyse it for the convenience of philosophical study, and there was no direct antithesis between the political and the spiritual.

JESUS AND ISRAEL: A PARALLEL SITUATION.

Many have compared the Mahatma's teachings, and latterly his personal sufferings, to those of Jesus (on whom be peace); but the analogy goes farther than many have yet realised. Jesus was a Jew, and those who lovingly followed him acclaimed him as the Messiah of the House of David who had come to restore to the Israelites their long lost independence and power. Just as the "Tragedy of History" had been illustrated by the doom required by long-gathering guilt in the case of the Ten Tribes of the kingdom of Samaria, who were crushed and practically annihilated or dispersed by Assyria more than seven hundred years before the birth of Jesus, so was it illustrated again a century and a quarter later in the case of their no less guilty brothers of Judah when Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian, destroyed the Temple of Solomon, razed Jerusalem to the ground, and, making the Jews his captives, carried them into exile.

Ever since then the Israelites had dreamt dreams of revenge and restoration, and the victory of Cyrus seemed at one time to realise all that had been hoped. The rebuilding of the Temple had commenced, and after a temporary suspension resumed. Zerubbabel, who was of the line of David, was the hope of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah the son of Iddo, who looked forward to the political regeneration of the Jews, consequent on the overthrow and destruction of "the kingdoms of the nation." The line of David was hoped to be restored in the person of Zerubbabel himself, and the Messianic predictions of earlier prophets thus fulfilled. This prediction was, however, not fulfilled at the time, and whatever became of Zerubbabel, who disappears with the coronation scene in Zechariah, he never wore a real crown nor sat upon the throne of his fathers.

Israel was destined never more to taste the sweets of independence; but, whether under the yoke of Greeks or of Romans, Israel never lost the hope of restoration. "The triumphal and often cruel entry of Greek and Roman civilization into Asia threw it back upon its dreams. More than ever it involved the Messiah as judge and avenger of the people. A complete renovation, a revolution which would shake the world to its very foundations, was necessary in order to satisfy the enormous thirst for vengeance excited in it by the sense of its superiority and by the sight of its humiliation." (Renan).

Herod the Great who had contrived to secure some semblance of independence from Rome had died about the year in which Jesus was born, and "his three sons were only lieutenents of Romans, analogous to the Rajas of India under the English dominion" (Renan). When during the childhod of Jesus, Archelaus, its ethnarch, was disposed by Augustus, the last trace of self-government was lost to Jerusalem. Judea was thenceforward part of a dependency of the province of Syria, which was governed by an imperial legate. A series of Roman procurators, subordinate in important matters to the imperial legate of Syria, of whom Pontius Pilate is so well known to Christian history, were constantly occupied in extinguishing the volcano which was seething beneath their feet. Continual sedition, excited by the zealots of of Mosaism did not cease, in fact, to agitate Jerusalem during all this time. To cast down the Roman eagle, and destroy the works of arts raised by the Herods, in which the Mosaic regulations were not always respected, were perpetual temptations to fanatics who had reached that degree of exaltation which removed all care for life. The Samaritans were agitated by movements of a similar nature. The "Zelotes" or Sicarii", pious assasins who imposed on themselves the task of killing whosoever in their estimation broke the Law, began to appear. A movement which had much more influence upon Jesus was that of Judas, the Gaulonite, of Galilean. The Census which was the basis of taxation by the foreigner was hated as almost an impiety. That ordered in the sixth year of the Christian era had fully re-awakened the theocratic abhorrence of Gentile government and had caused a great fermentation. In fact, an insurrection had broken out in the Northern provinces from which the greatest achievements of the Jewish people had always proceeded. "Men deemed themselves on the eve of the great renovation. The Scriptures, tortured into divers meanings, fostered the most colossal hopes. In each line of the writings of the Old Testament they saw the assurance, and in a manner the programme, of the future reign, which was to bring peace to the righteous, and to seal for ever the work of God." (Renan).

THE MORAL REVOLUTION OF JESUS.

When Jesus contemplated the world at the outset of his ministry he was called upon to make his choice of the weapons of reform The conditions of his people and his times, as I think, rather than any fundamental objection to the use of force in all circumstances, as Christian churchmen profess, made him pin his faith to non resistance of evil. In other words, he decided to defeat force by his own suffering, just as Husain subsequently did at Karbala although the latter died sword in hand. But whatever view we may take of the choice of Jesus, it is certain that his fundamental idea was different from that of the political reformers of his time such as Judas the Gaulonite, whose example has shown him the futility of the popular seditions of his day. If ever he was the author of the disclaimer: "My kingdom is not of this world," he must have meant that he was not setting out to defeat Satan "the Prince of this world" with the help of Satanic weapons. He was not "worldly" in his methods; but this does not mean that he was "other-worldly." All that it signifies is that he was "unwordly." Having resisted the temptation to be a political revolutionary on the very threshold of his career as a Teacher, he never succumbed to it. The revolution he wished to effect was a moral revolution, and although he did not escape the fate of "rebels", and was placed on the Cross by order of Pilate with the description "King of the Jews", which is, in spite of its intended irony, significant of the Roman Procurator's political suspicions, Liberty for him meant in the first instance Truth and Self-Purification. Renan was, to my mind, a typical French man of his times for whom the claims of the State were paramount, and he could neither understand nor appreciate the thoroughgoing theocracy of Jesus, the "Servant of the Lord." Nevertheless, I agree with him in the conclusion that "as an austere republican or a zealous patriot he would not have arrested the great current of the affairs of his age; but in declaring that politics are insignificant, he has revealed to the world that one's country is not everything, and that the man is before, and higher than, the citizen." Vengeance which was consuming the Israelites was the Lord's. Jesus counselled the upholders of the *ten talionis* who claimed an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth that he who had been smitten on one cheek should turn the other cheek also to the smiter. So much for the foreign tyrant. As for his own countryman, the Jew, who, falling a victim to his own weakness and a fear of the Gentile masters of Judea, had become a publican or tax-collector on behalf of the foreigner, he too could easily claim a share in the abounding love of Jesus. The idea of being all powerful by suffering and resignation, and of triumphing over force by purity of heart, is as old as the days of Abel and Cain, the first progeny of Man. But since it so eminently suited the conditions of the times of Jesus, and the record of his ministry, however inadequate or defective, has still preserved for us this part of his teachings in some detail, it has come to be regarded by Christians and even by many non Christians as an idea peculiar to Jesus.

JESUS AND GANDHI.

Be that as it may, it was just as peculiar to Mahatma Gandhi also; but it was reserved for a Christian government to treat as a felon the most Christ-like man of our times and to penalise as a disturber of the public peace the one man engaged in public affairs who comes nearest to the Prince of Peace. The political conditions of India just before the advent of the Mahatma resembled those of Judea on the eve of the advent of Jesus, and the prescription that he offered to those in search of a remedy for the ills of India was the same that Jesus had dispensed before in Judea. Self-purification through suffering; a moral preparation for the responsibilities of government; self-discipline as the condition precedent of Swaraj—this was the Mahatma's creed and conviction; and those of us who have been privileged to have lived in the glorious year that culminated in the Congress session at Ahmedabad have seen what a remarkable and what a rapid change he wrought in the thoughts, feelings and actions of such large masses of mankind.

THE MAHATMA AND SATYAGRAHA.

Mahatma Gandhi had been in direct touch with the Indian Government, and often counselled the Viceroy, and had continued his assistance to the British Government in its hour of need in South Africa by working as the unpaid recruiting sergeant of that government in India. This had indeed amazed those who could not associate him whose life itself was a sermon on the Mount with recruitment of blood-spilling soldiers. Yet even so loyal a subject and so staunch a friend was compelled to oppose a measure of that Government which no one reading British declarations of gratitude for India's loyalty in the early stages of the War could have conceived as the possible culmination of that gratitude at the end of that War. A Reform Scheme was under consideration professedly for enlarging the Indians' share in Indian administration. But while one hand was declared to be about to give a wider franchise to India, the other was already busy robbing her even of her narrowly restricted liberties. This is what my brother and I wrote to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, from our internment at Chhindwara on the 24th April, 1919, when we were about to court imprisonment by breaking the Defence of India Regulations which had curtailed our liberties four years previously.

The War is now over; but the spirit of tyranny that it generated is still abroad; and while, on the one hand, it is being proclaimed in high-sounding phrases that those who are assembled at Paris to decide the destinies of the world on a more equitable and humane basis than Brute force are not to be masters of the People, but their servants, the Government on the other hand, is denying to the people of India the barest expression on questions that vitally concern them. Not only is the gag not to be removed yet from our own mouths, but a gag of prodigious proportions has been prepared now for silencing more than three hundred millions of God's articulate creatures. The Rowlatt Bill just enacted in the most tyrannical manner has ended the reign of law and substituted a reign of terror in its place, and although it affects every section of the people of India, the Musalmans are certain to be its first and its worst victims. It has been the Muslim Press that has suffered most under the Press Act, and the same has been true of the Defence of India Act, if we only exclude the detenus, young men of Bengal rotting in insanitary cells or swampy islands, without trial or hope of release. Even those who profess an athetic optimism and hope against hope that the bureaucracy armed with the strength of the giant will not use it as tyrannically as the giant, need only have access to our own experience to be cured of this disastrous delusion. We, who have already had enough experience of executive discretion and of "investigating authorities" sitting in camera, tardily enquiring into wholly unfounded charges and dealing with emasculated cases without the help of any code of procedure or law of evidence, sometimes cases that cannot bear the light of day, and being finally dismissed as ignominious for all their pains, can claim to deal with some authority, and say that the Rowlatt Act is nothing more or less than the resuscitation of a state of martial law.

It was our privilege to point out to Mahatma Gandhi the real import and full scope of the Rowlatt Bills, soon after he commenced his famous Satyagraha campaign. This was the first dawn of the era of Non-Co-operation. The occurences at Delhi, Amritsar and Lahore, and in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat are matters of history, and although the Mahatma's admission of his Himalayan error has been proclaimed to the world by the Government, and the official and unofficial forces who have been enlisted in its support, none seems to have had the honesty to admit that the Mahatma's blunder would have overtopped Everest if he had not then united his nation as he did in defence of its liberties. At the very worst the "Himalayan error" consisted in miscalculating the extent of the people's discipline and self-restraint. But if Mahatma Gandhi had left the Rowlatt Bills unchallenged, he would have been guilty of a sin of which he could hardly have purged himself by any kind of expiation. Place all the violence of the infuriated mobs on one side, and on the other side place the cowardliness of a surrender to the slavery sought to be imposed on the nation by these Bills, and, in spite of my utter abhorrence of such violence, I say with all deliberateness that on the Day of Judgment I would rather stand before God's White Throne guilty of all this violence than have to answer for the unspeakable sin of so cowardly a surrender. In saying this I am only applying to the situation four years earlier my chief's own admission in the court of the judge who has ordered that for six years he should "be buried alive". "I knew" admitted the Mahatma, "that I was playing with fire." But he also added: "I ran the risk, and if I was set free I would still do the same"! Christ-like in his methods he has been Christ-like to the end. He had "steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem," and not even the prospect of the Cross could make him shrink from treading the path of duty.

NON-VIOLENCE.

I would like to re-state here the position of men like myself with regard to non-violence. I am not a Christian believing in the sinfulness of all resistance to evil, and in their practice, even if not in their theory, the vast bulk of Christians and all Christian States are in full agreement with me. The last War presented an excellent opportunity to these States and to Christians at large to demonstrate their belief in the doctrine of non-resistance, but we know that none of the States followed it, and the few Christians whose practice was not divorced from their professions were the "conscientious objectors" contemptuously called "conchies", who were subjected to ridicule and contumely and were punished like felons. But that was not all. Every national Church blessed the national Flag and sent the national warriors as on a Crusade. As a

(Continued on next page.)

INDIA'S NEED OF THE HOUR.

(Continued from previous page.)

Musalman and a follower of the Last of the Prophets (on whom be Allah's blessings and peace!), I believe that war is a great evil; but I also believe that there are worse things than war. "There is no compulsion in faith", says the Quran, because force and religious conviction have no common denominator. They belong to two very different planes. But when war is forced on a Muslim, and the party that does so has no other argument but this, then, as a Musalman and the follower of the Last of the Prophets, I may not shrink, but must give the enemy battle on his own ground and beat him with his own weapons. If he respects no other argument than force and would use it against me, I would defend my Faith against his onslaught and would use against him all the force I could command,—force without stint and without cessation. But when, in the language of the Quran, "War hath dropped her weapons", my sword must also be sheathed. Warfare, according to the Quran, is an evil; but persecution is a worse evil, and may be put down with the weapons of war. When persecution ceases, and every man is free to act with the sole motive of securing divine good-will, warfare must cease. These are the limits of Violence in Islam, as I understand it, and I cannot go beyond these limits without infringing the Law of God. But I have agreed to work with Mahatma Gandhi, and our compact is that as long as I am associated with him I shall not resort to the use of force even for purposes of self-defence. And I have willingly entered into this compact because I think we can achieve victory without violence; that the use of violence for a nation of three hundred and twenty millions of people should be a matter of reproach to it: and finally, that victory achieved with violence must be not the victory of all sections of the nation, but mainly of the fighting classes, which are more sharply divided in India from the rest of the nation than perhaps anywhere else in the world. Our Swaraj must be the Raj of all, and, in order to be that, it must have been won through the willing sacrifice of all. If this is not so, we shall have to depend for its maintenence as well on the prowess of the fighting classes, and this we must not do. Swaraj must be won by the minimum sacrifice of the maximum number, and not by the maximum sacrifice of the minimum number. Since I have full faith in the possibilities of the programme of constructive work of Non-Violent Non-Co-operation, I have no need to hanker after violence. Even if this programme fails to give us victory, I know that suffering willingly and cheerfully undergone will prove to have been the best preparation even for the effective use of Force. But, God willing, the constructive programme will not fail us if we work with a will and accustom the nation to undergo the small sacrifices that it entails.

WHAT SWARAJ DEMANDS FROM THE NATION.

Here I may ask those of my fellow-countrymen who shrink even from these small sacrifices whether they have considered what it is that a soldier who goes to battle is prepared to sacrifice. As the bible tells us, "Greater love hath no man .....than, that he lay down his life for his friend." Our own compatriots went to war for a cause not their own to the number of a million and a half. Can we who pride ourselves on the strength of our national feeling shrink even from the small sacrifices that Non-Violent Non-Co-operation demands? But in reality our present programme is but the beginning of national work, and Swaraj when it is attained would require even greater sacrifices than those of a soldier. To die for a cause is after all not so very difficult. Men at all times and in all countries have done it, and they have often done it for very poor causes. To die for a cause is not very difficult. The harder thing is to live for a cause, and, if need be, suffer for it; and the cause that we must live and suffer for must be the realisation in India of the Kingdom of God.

NON-CO-OPERATORS AND THEIR OPPONENTS.

These being my innermost convictions, I cannot help marvelling at the audacity of those that attribute to us a desire to involve the country in violence, carnage and anarchy. They presume to demand from us who stand between them and violence an assurance of non-violence. And yet their own hands are red with the blood of the innocents shed in Jallianwalla Bagh —blood still as unrepented as it is unavenged. Contrast this patent insincerity with the frank acceptance by our chief of his full responsibility for Chauri-Chaura and the Bombay riots and you have the measure of the moral worth of Non-Co-operation and of its relentless opponents. The Mahatma's confession is proclaimed to the world by this Christian Government; but I wonder if this Government is also prepared to attribute to the Sermon on the Mount the slicing off by St. Peter of the ear of Malchus! Who knows how much blood might not have been shed by the disciples of the Prince of Peace if the census of arms taken by the Master had produced a tale of many more than two swords, and had his followers been more steadfast in their support of him than the self-same St. Peter who, according to the Gospel, denied him three times before cock-crow? When the guilt of Chauri-Chaura and similar unfortunate occurrences is being judged, it is necessary to take into consideration not only that which was done, but also that which had been resisted. Never before in the annals of India have the people felt as intensely as they have done since the dawn of Non-Co-operation, and the marvel is not that the fury of the mob has resulted in so much bloodshed, but that the manhood of India has been successfully revived with so little of it. I challenge anyone to show another instance in the history of mankind where hundreds of millions of people have been roused to stand up for their liberties and have remained so peaceful as the people of India led by Mahatma Gandhi. There is no country of Europe, with all its cold, frog blood, that would not have experienced a deluge of blood in like circumstances. That India has escaped such a deluge is due to Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers.

CO-OPERATION.

In dealing with the question of Non-Violence I have digressed and anticipated a good deal, and I must now revert to my narrative. At the Congress at Amritsar the main resolution was concerned with the Reforms, and although only four years have passed since that session, it would surprise not a few to know that in the discussions over this resolution my friend Deshbandhu Das, the leader of the Council-entry party, and my late chief, Lokmanya Tilak, were entirely opposed to co-operation and the working of the Reformed Councils, while Mahatma Gandhi had himself moved an amendment to that resolution. This was designed to commit the Congress to the principle of the co-operation of the people with the authorities in working the Reforms in response to the sentiments expressed in the Royal Proclamation. Neither side was willing to give way, and, as is usual on such occasions, the protracted discussions in the Subjects Committee were delaying the discussions in the Congress and prolonging the session. This was the first occasion, as I have already told you, on which I took part in the Congress, and for a novice my own contribution is not altogether undeserving of notice. My brother and I tried to discover a formula which could be acceptable both to Mahatma Gandhi and to Lokmanya Tilak and Deshbandhu Das. We at last succeeded in this effort, and Srijut Bepin Chandra Pal moved, and I seconded, an amendment recommending to the Congress that "the provisions of the Reforms Act be used, as far as possible, with a view to secure full Responsible Government at an early date." This cleared the air, and finally both parties agreed to support a resolution declaring that "the Congress trusts that, so far as may be possible, the people will so work the Reforms as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government." It was with this addition that the Congress passed the resolution moved by Deshbandhu Das and seconded by Lokmanya Tilak, which declared India to be fit at the moment for full Responsible Government, characterised the Reforms Act as inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing and urged that Parliament should take early steps to establish full Responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination. I have recalled these details only to show that even at Amritsar Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers were willing to co-operate with Government so far as was possible. And yet otherwise so entirely changed was the atmosphere at this session of the Congress that after my long separation from my people I could not help being greatly impressed by the change. The Hindus and Musalmans were no longer enemies or even rivals, but were comrades and brothers in arms. There was no longer a plethora of set speeches suggestive of mid-night oil, "full of sound and fury signifying nothing." There was a new earnestness which indicated that the resolutions of the Congress were resolutions indeed, in the sense that the nation was *resolved* to act. And above all, it was clear that fear of fellow-man was no longer to be the compelling motive in India, and that the only fear this land would know in future would be the fear of God. So struck was I by this amazing change that I quoted in my speech at Amritsar the couplet of a fellow-townsman of mine who had said:

"One round of the wine cup was like a century-long cycle of Time; when we left the tavern we found that the whole world had changed."

FROM CO-OPERATION TO NON-CO-OPERATION.

But so far it was only a change in the character and outlook of the people. Their policy was, however, also destined to undergo an entire sea-change. And it was Mahatma Gandhi who at Amritsar was insisting on the people's co-operation with the authorities that was destined to be the first and, in the beginning, almost the sole advocate of Non-Co-operation. What was it that had wrought this change of policy? I must confess my feelings towards this Government had undergone a complete change during the War, and in particular since the Armistice towards the end of 1918. When now I read in the old files of the *Comrade* the publicly expressed expectations I had entertained from this Government not only at the commencement of the year 1911, but even as late as the end of 1914, it appears as if I was examining the newly discovered bones of an animal now altogether extinct. It is true that as late as in December, 1919, I had taken, with regard to co-operation with the authorities, a middle position between Mahatma Gandhi on the oneside, and Deshbandhu Das and Lokmanya Tilak on the other which eventually became the position of the entire Congress. But I was even then not very hopeful of the possibility of such co-operation. I had seen only too clearly to what the co-operation of the Musalmans with the authorities had led them. And I had likewise realised that what had happened at Jallianwalla Bagh, in the Crawling Lane, and at the Dak-Bungalow at Manianwalla was not a succession of unconnected incidents in which the thoughtless fury of the officials had suddenly vented itself, but a series of acts symptomatic of the disease from which this foreign bureaucracy was inevitably suffering. I was thoroughly convinced that this disease was congenital with the system, and if the system continued such incidents were bound to recur, and Government would inevitably be a succession of Jallianwalla Baghs unless the British underwent a complete change of heart. The Duke of Connaught, when he came out to India in the beginning of 1921 to open the Reformed Legislatures, appealed to us to forget and forgive. I was, and still am, prepared to forgive; but forget I could not, and would not. To forget only means for the awakened sleeper to go back to sleep and to dream the pleasant dream he had been dreaming before he had awakened to the stern reality. But Mahatma Gandhi was not yet convinced of all this, and his conversion came a little later. For many months after the Amritsar session he continued to live in the hope that England would yet repent, and, while restoring the integrity and independence of the Khilafat, and evacuating the Jazirat-ul-Arab, England would redress the great wrong done to the people of the Punjab. In fact, it was not a mere hope that sustained him but an absolute conviction, and when he too was at last disillusioned, and would indicate in the process of preparing the programme of his constructive work a profound and thoroughgoing want of belief in the good intentions of England' so that even we would suggest that perhaps he was going too far, he used to explain this by saying that he was a more recent, and therefore a more zealous, convert. When the last Petition that Muslim India addressed to England, through the Indian Khilafat Delegation in the interview that we had with the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, the ex-Premier of England, proved the utter futility of such appeals; and when the Punjab wrong was treated as an "error of judgment" to be rewarded by a pension paid out of India's poverty to the murderer of her innocent sons, and to the cold-blooded approver of this "error" who, enjoying the safety of a Government House surrounded by armed guards, had not even the justification of General Dyer, then Mahatma Gandhi lost all faith in co-operation between the rulers and the ruled.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

Much has been said and written about Non-Co-operation and, if our opponents, or even some of our friends, would not understand its significance even now, I cannot hope to enlighten them in this address. I will, therefore, content myself with saying that briefly it means that if we may not resist evil, at least we will not assist it. If is true we expect that if the Indian nation is prepared to make such sacrifices as Non-Co-operation entails, this foreign Government would be absolutely paralysed. But although we do contemplate such a result, it is little more than incidental. Our movemenet, even though its name suggests that it is of a negative character, is in reality not so. It is essentially of a much more positive character. It does not directly aim at the paralysis of others; its direct aim is to remove our own paralysis. Every item of the Non-Co-operation programme, with which I shall presently have to deal, has a strong constructive as well as a destructive side, and we shall stand or fall according as we succeed in our construction or not. But if we do not destroy, or, in other words, if we continue to avail ourselves of all that the Government has constructed for the continuance of its own existence, and as a trap for our destruction, we shall neither stand nor even fall, but shall absolutely cease to exist. Even if our direct aim was to paralyse the Government it was entirely compatible with the purest ethics, and even with the doctrine of Love associated with the name of Jesus Christ and now of Mahatma Gandhi. And I maintain that such a paralysis of Government is clearly possible. Friends, very early in my career as a gaol-bird I was struck with the system of co-operation followed in Indian gaols. Every prisoner gets a remission of a few days at the end of every month for "a clean bill of health" during the month; but some of the prisoners who succeed in winning the confidence and favour of the local gaol authorities are made watchmen, convict-overseers or convict-warders, and, besides enjoying other privileges during the rest of their prison life, they earn a more liberal remission of their sentence every month. Every one in this Pandal who has passed through that gateway of freedom called prison—and, I trust, there are a good many present here to-day—is familiar with the work of the convict-overseers and warders who share the duty of keeping watch and ward during the night with the paid warders employed by the gaol administration. As a rule the few paid warders pass the night enjoying tolerably sound sleep, or, at the very worst, doze out their period of sentinel duty. But at the end of every half-hour the gaol resounds with the cries of the prisoners who keep the real watch and ward. "All's well!" is repeated from every corner of the gaol, and so long as this continues the paid warders can sleep the sleep of the just. And, this, my friends, is the parable of co-operation. We have lost our liberties and are kept enchained through the services of others who are as much deprived of their liberties as we ourselves, except for a few petty privileges that they seem to enjoy. Meanwhile the few foreigners who keep us in servitude can enjoy sleep and repose because the co-sharers of our servitude repeat from time to time from every corner of India's vast Bastille the reassuring cry, "All is well!" The only difference is that whereas the convict-watchmen, overseers and wardens can in this way at least secure their release from prison a little before their fellow-prisoners over whom they keep watch and ward, our co-operating friends, who are our comrades in slavery cannot look forward even to an earlier release. In fact, they have lost even the sense of slavery, and slavishly hug the very chains that keep them enslaved. As I wrote in the prison itself:

"Leave off worrying for me, O heedless fool; weep over thine own captivity; that which thou deemest to be an ornament is nothing less than a chain."

A QUESTION FOR MUSALMANS.

Friends, I feel certain, I have exhausted you as well as myself with this somewhat exhaustive historical narrative, commencing with the Indian Mutiny and coming down to our own era of Non-Co-operation. But in thus narrating past history I had an end in view. I cannot act the part of a dictator to any of you; and yet I want you to co-operate with me. Possessing no such personality as the Mahatma's, and being as unwilling to bind a spell over you as I am incapable of doing it, I could only lead you to the conclusions which after half a life-time of blindness and much blundering I have at last reached by demonstrating to you that our safest guide, the experience of several generations, inevitably leads us to the same. Experience must be our most cherished tropay, for it is a trophy made up of weapons that have hurt us. And here I appeal to the experience of my co-religionists in particular who are being diligently diverted from the path to which their history during the last sixty years and more has guided them. Granted that Non-Co-operation has failed, and that co-operation with our non-Muslim fellow-countrymen is a vain hope, a snare and a delusion—though I am far from granting it except for argument's sake. Still we have got to suggest an alternative policy. I ask them not to accept my lead but to be in their turn my guide themselves. Whither could they lead me, that is now the question! If Non-Co-operation with our foreign masters and co-operation with Indian fellow-slaves of other faiths is not possible, what is the alternative that they have to place before us to-day? Are we to "progress backwards" till we begin to walk on all fours? Shall we co-operate with our foreign rulers and fight with our non-Muslim countrymen as we used to fight before? And if we do that what hope have we of any better results than we achieved for ourselves in the settlements after the Tripoli and the Balkan Wars, or nearer home, in the unsettlement of a "settled fact" in Bengal? No, friends, that book is closed and into it we shall look no more. You have no alternative better than Non-Co-operation with the foreigner and co-operation with our neighbours, nor have I. And it is futile to waste our time in worrying over the impossible.

MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

It is said that we can have no grievance now after the Treaty of Lausanne. You, friends, are in a better position to know how that Treaty came to be concluded than I who had to undergo for a year and a half solitary confinement in all but a technical sense and have not been in touch with public affairs. But I have studied in some of the back numbers of the newspapers of those days something of what transpired in connection with the revision of the Treaty of Sevres while I was still in prison. You also know about the historic telegram despatched to the Secretary of State by the Government of India after consulting and receiving the general concurrence of the local Governments including their Ministers. You will agree that it fell far short not only of Muslim aspirations and sentiments, but also of the requirements of Islamic Law, since it did not say anything about the evacuation of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, and only recommended the Sultan's suzerainty over the Holy Places. In fact, the Government of India undoubtedly, even if haltingly, admitted all this when they said,: "We are conscious that it may be impossible to satisfy India's expectation in their entirety," though Mr. Chamberlain had the impudence to say that "the terms far exceeded even the demands of the warmest friends of the Turks." And yet what a storm did the world witness over the publication of even such a telegram. The Secretary of State's resignation was demanded by the Premier, and the King-Emperor "had been pleased to approve its acceptance." In other words, Mr. Montagu was ignominously dismissed. As Reuter pointed out, "Mr. Chamberlain's announcement in the House of Commons was received with fierce welcoming cheers from the majority of the Unionists; and the 'Die-Hards,' specially delighted, could hardly contain their satisfaction." "Never before," said another message of Reuter," "Never before has the House of Commons re-echoed with such exultant cheering as greeted the announcement of Mr. Montagu's resignation. It emanated from the Unionist benches, but was so loud and prolonged that it seemed general. Some enthusiasts even waved handkerchefs." The most charitable explanation with regard to the attitude of Mr. Montagu's own party and the party that is the rising hope of such Indians as still cling to the idea of receiving freedom as the gift of the foreigners, is contained in the earlier message of Reuter, that "Liberal and Labour members received the news without an expression of opinion." To-day it may perhaps be urged that the Government of India are as anxious as the Muslim leaders themselves to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the questions still at issue between Musalmans and Great Britain. But of what good is that to us so long as the Government of India is only "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away" whose "dictation to the British Government" as to what line it ought to pursue in such matters seems to Lord Curzon "quite intolerable." This is what Lord Curzon wrote to Mr. Montagu before "giving him the sack", even though poor Mr. Montagu thought that he was only being let off with a warning. But evidently he had forgotten that at Denshawi there was flogging as well as hanging and that Lord Curzon's final court could be trusted not to let off such criminals as he with a warning but to warn and hang him also for the same offence.

Not one of those believing Musalmans who is dissatisfied to-day with our policy of Non-Co-operation with Government and co-operation among the Indians could honestly say that Muslim Indian feeling received anything even approaching proper consideration at the hands of Great Britain. And yet hear what this former Viceroy of India, the same who posed as the benefactor of the Musalmans in partitioning Bengal in 1905, has to say about our cry of anguish at the partitioning of the Khilafat fifteen years later. In his letter to Mr. Montagu he writes: "But the part India has sought to play or been allowed to play in this series of events passes my comprehension..... Is Indian opinion always to be the final court of Muslim appeal?"

In his speech before his Cambridge constituency Mr. Montagu has said: "The Government of India were parties to the Treaty of Sevres. Had the Treaty produced peace, the Government of India would have accepted it loyally; but when it showed, *as I always knew that it would show* that it could not produce peace, the Government of India pleaded for its revision. I ask whether the Governments of Canada, South Africa or Australia would have remained silent when the so-called peace was destroying the internal peace of their country?" Poor Mr. Montagu! How easy it is, it seems, to forget that while the Governments of Canada, South Africa and Australia are national governments, the Government of India, over which Lord Reading still presides after the dismissal of Mr. Montagu, is not a national government at all. On the contrary, it is one which was bound to look up for six long years the greatest leader that the nation had produced, for many generations, in deference to pressure from the very Imperial Government that had treated its partial support of his view in this affair with such open contempt. Dr. Sapru, too, had forgotten this patent difference between India and the Dominions, and had to be reminded of it at the Imperial Conference by the representative of a country once as distressful as our own, namely Ireland. We had ourselves urged upon Mr. Montagu the very consideration to which he referred in his Cambridge speech; but it was all in vain, and our advocacy of the same cause which the late Secretary of State advocated with equally little success was punished in various ways by the Government in India. Those who used to tell me on these occasions that Mr. Montagu was sympathetic had to be reminded that his sympathy had proved wholly sterile. I have always held that Mr. Montagu should have resigned on any one of at least half a dozen occasions even before his ultimate dismissal, and now he tells us himself that "he had been repeatedly on the verge of resignation, but he had hesitated *because he did not wish to say to the Mohamedans of India that the solemn pledges which had been made to them were irretrievably lost*" Nevertheless, his resignation *had* to come at last, and to-day he is not only not in the Government, but not even in the House of Commons. Can we then draw from all this any other conclusion than this, that *the solemn pledges which had been made to us are irretrievably lost*"? But, no, they are not *irretrievably* lost. Friends, with the assistance of God, and your whole-hearted co-operation, we will yet retrieve them, or perish in the attempt.

ENGLAND AT LAUSANNE

This was in March, 1922, and although we were promised that due weight would be given to Indian opinion, I ask you to consider what was the attitude of England when six months laater the brave Turks, relying not upon the promises of Great Britain, but upon God's grace and their own self-sacrifice and courage, drove Britain's brutal nominee into the sea? You all know that better than I do, and I do not propose to detain you over that. Beaten on the field of battle, England now sought to deprive the Turks of the fruits of victory on the conference-table of diplomacy. But here, too, God helped those who helped themselves, and the Treaty of Lausanne proved that the Turks were not only warriors but statesmen as well. Let us hear what Lord Curzon has to say himself of the reasons that brought about the Treaty of Lausanne. Did the English who had commissioned Greece after the Armistice to rob the Turks of Thrace and even of their homelands in Asia-Minor; who were at one time actually considering the question of handing over Constantinople to them; and who had appealed in vain to the Dominions to fight their battle against the now victorious Turks when India could no longer be trusted to make cannon-fodder of her sons after the Karachi Trial—did the English even now repent or relent? The difference between the conditions under which other treaties, including that of Sevres, were imposed and the one in which the Lausanne Settlement was arrived at was pointed out by Lord Curzon at the Imperial Conference in the following words:—

Such (dictation of terms at the point of the bayonet) had been the case with all the previous post-war treaties. These had in each case been drawn up by the victorious powers, sitting, so to speak, on the seat of judgment, in the absence of the culprit, and imposing what penalty or what settlement they chose. Only when the terms had been drawn up was the beaten enemy admitted to be told his sentence and to make the conventional protest of the doomed man. Such, indeed, was the environment in which the original Treaty of Sevres was drawn up and signed, though never ratified by the Turkish representatives. For otherwise was it at Lausanne. There the Turks sat at the table on a footing of equality with all the other Powers. Every article of the Treaty had to be debated with and explained to them. Agreement had to be achieved not by brandishing the big stick but by discussion, persuasion and compromise.

Commenting upon Lord Curzon's defence of the Treaty of Lausanne and of his praise of Allied diplomacy, which was, according to him, reluctant to break up the Conference on important, but not vital, points, and to revert to a state of war, an Indian newspaper which is not noted for any excess of sympathy with the Turks, wrote as follows:—

No credit can be given to such pacific and discreet diplomacy when it was based on unwilling to fight. As Lord Curzon said, "the Turks knew very well that the Allies had no stomach for further fighting; on the contrary they were very nervous about the bellicose temper of the extremist elements among the Turks. The Allies were never certain, said the Foreign Secretary, "how far the genuine desire of the leading Turks for peace would control the unruly Nationalist and extremist elements." It will thus appear that the Turks obtained what they wanted literally at the point of the sword and the role of the conquerors and the conquered was reversed at Lausanne. It was the terms of the Turks who dictated the terms of Treaty, and the Allies, who dictated the terms of the other post-war treaties, had to accept them. ..... As a matter of fact the big stick was brandished by the Turks at Lausanne and the Allies "made the conventional protest of the doomed man." Replying to the severe criticism of the Treaty by those "whose motives in making the attack are not free from criticism," he said that "it was the best treaty that could be obtained in the circumstances."

Thus it is once more clear that the Turks secured what they did at Lausanne not because of any regard on the part of England for justice to the Turks, or for the religious obligations and sentiments of Indian Musalmans with regard to the Khilafat, but in spite of England's open hostility towards the Turks and utter disregard of the requirements of Islam. Lord Curzon would have once more brandished the big stick; but sad to relate, it had changed hands.

I have purposely dealt exclusively with a matter concerning the special interests of Musalmans and affecting their extra-territorial sympathies, for it is obvious that the Treaty of Lausanne, far from settling our national affairs and satisfying our national requirements common to all Indian communities, does not even settle the peculiarly Muslim and religious issue of the Jazirat-ul-Arab. But after all, the issue that are our common national issues far exceed in number those that concern the Musalmans alone. All that the Treaty of Lausanne has done is to declare that the Turks have not lost their Swaraj as we had done more than a century ago, and as they themselves were within an ace of doing. The Khilafat Committee's demands, and, in particular the religious requirements with regard to the Jazirat-ul-Arab, still remain unsatisfied. But even if all this had been done, could the Musalmans give up Non-co-operation with Government and co-operation with other Indian communities? In the first place, that would be an unspeakable shameful breach of faith with their non-Muslim brethren of whose help they have so willingly availed themselves. And, in the next place, Indian Musalmans would be proving that, while they were so anxious for the security of the Turks and the Arabs' Swaraj they were indifferent to their own! Well could it, then, be said of them:

To kari zamin ranko sakhti, ki ba aman nez pardakhti.

(Hast thou arranged the affairs of the earth so well that thou meddlest in those of heaven as well?)

THE TERRIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO NON-CO-OPERATION.

Friends, once more I have perhaps exhausted your patience; but my excuse for it is that I want the Musalmans who are being asked to-day to discard the policy of Non-co-operation with England to confront facts before they reverse a decision to which their sad experiences of co-operation with England had driven them. It is as clear as daylight that so long as India is not an equal partner with England and the Dominions in the Empire, and so long as her Government is but a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away," we cannot be satisfied with the goodwill of the Government of India even if it is proved to the hilt. Besides loyalty to a foreign Government there are other loyalties as well, and so long as Musalmans in India are liable to be punished for disloyalty to Government because they are loyal to their God and to His Last Prophet, as we ourselves were punished at Karachi, and so long as the Holy Land of Islam is under the control of non-Muslim mandatories when we ourselves had been given God's own mandate for it by His Last Messenger as a deathbed injunction, there is no alternative to Non-Violent Non-Co-operation but one, and that, friends, is the terrible alternative of war! Since the vast bulk of those who try to discredit our policy do so because they are slaves to the fear of Government, and, being unwilling to make any sacrifice, could not even dream of adopting that terrible alternative, let us hear no more of a change of policy!

MUSLIM CO-OPERATION WITH NON-MUSLIMS.

And if we may not co-operate with Great Britain, is it expedient to put it on the lowest plane, to cease to co-operate with our non-Muslim brethren? What is it that has happened since that staunch Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi went to gaol for advocating the cause of Islam that we must cease to co-operate with his co-religionists? I know that Hindu-Muslim relations to-day are not precisely those that they were two years ago. But is it possible for any honest and truly patriotic Indian to say that either community is wholly blameless, and that the guilt is entirely one community's? Friends, I do not believe in diplomacy, and certainly not in that variety of it which is called secret diplomacy. I do not wish to imitate Sir Roger de Coverley, and put you off with the diplomatic dictum: "Much can be said on both sides of the question." Most regrettable events have unfortunately occurred in Malabar, at Multan, at Agra, at Saharanpur and elsewhere, and I am prepared to support the motion of a National Tribunal to judge the respective guilt of the two communities. For I cannot be gainsaid even by the community that has suffered the most that complaints have been made by members of the other community as well, and obviously it would neither be fair nor productive of any satisfactory result if either community is saddled with all the guilt and denounced without an adequate enquiry. I did not shrink at Delhi from proposing the

[illegible] representative Committee of Enquiry but for reasons which it is not necessary to state here no result has yet been achieved of such a Committee's appointment. Two things are, however, patent. The law courts established by Government cannot stop their work while we judge the guilt of the two communities. And while it is difficult to arrive at the truth of a national enquiry *after* witnesses have given their testimony, true or false, on oath before the courts of law of the Government, reconciliation itself, which is even more important than the investigation of the truth, is not made easy by the punishment awarded to those who are found guilty by such courts, not unoften on evidence which is not free from suspicion.

THE SUREST REMEDY.

What then is to be done? I have already told you that to accept the version of one party is neither fair, nor would it help us in creating in the other party whose version is disbelieved without any enquiry a disposition towards reconciliation and reform. The only remedy that I can suggest for instant adoption is also the surest, and it was this which was all but adopted towards the end of our discussions at Delhi in the Committee appointed to consider this question. Even after we had decided that a Committee of enquiry should visit the places where regrettable incidents had followed Hindu-Muslim dissensions, and after we had even nominated the members of this Committee, we were within an ace of cancelling all this because we noted at a later stage of our deliberations a welcome change in the attitude of the leaders on the two sides. There was now a desire to let bygones be bygones and heartily co-operate for the attainment of Swaraj, as they had been doing two oyears previously. Obviously, the protagonists on the two sides had once more had a glimpse of that unity of which the Mahatma was at once the chief preacher and the best symbol, and the prospect of gaining party-victories once more appeared mean and contemptible in their eyes. But a difference arose on a petty issue and they parted again. Friends, I pray that God may grant them once more a glimpse of that unity, and that this time it may not be as fleeting as it had been before. Nay, I pray that they may keep ever before them a picture of that unity and the glorious vistas of that freedom which can be seen only through the avenue of national unity, so that

(Continued on next page.)

INDIA'S NEED OF THE HOUR.

(Continued from previous page.)

all else that is of fair seeming, but which is associated with slavery, may lose its charm for them and be blotted out for all eternity.

THE PETTINESS OF DISTURBING ISSUES.

Believe me, it is not by tawdry, tinselled rhetoric that I hope to settle such vital issues. But, although the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity is vital, and, in fact, the most vital that we have to settle, the issues which disturb that unity are contemptibly petty. Nothing makes me more ashamed than the pettiness of these issues, and I confess I find it difficult to refute the calumny of our enemies that we are unfit for Responsible Government when I contemplate their potency for mischief side by side with their pettiness. Far be it from me to sneer at the modes of worship of my fellow-men; but I feel unspeakably depressed when I think that there are fellow-countrymen of mine, including my own co-religionists, who would jeopardise the recovery of our lost liberty, including religious liberty itself, for the sake of the satisfaction they seem to derive out of cutting a branch of Pipal tree overhanging a public thoroughfare and interfering with the passage of a pole of ridiculous length or out of beating tom-toms and blowing trumpets before a house of worship at prayer-time while moving in a procession. Friends, if we cannot acquire a better sense of proportion let us be honest, at least with ourselves if not with others, and give up all thought of freedom. We must not talk of Swaraj even within the Empire, let alone out of it. What is Kenya to slaves like us or we to Kenya? Why need we hanker after a place in the King Emperor's palace when we are not even fit for a place in his stables? And what is it to us if the Holy Land of Islam should attract many a casino and *cafe chantant*, or the new warden of the Musalmans' Holy of Holies should become one of the long tale of impotent potentates maintained by an Imperial Government only to be pushed off their ancestral thrones when ever they should forget themselves and think that God has made them men and not merely puppets in an Imperial show. If *alams* and *pipal* trees and noisy processions are our "horizon's utter sum", then all our Congresses and Khilafat Committees are mere mockery.

"Let us ring down—the farce is nothing worth."

Let us close this chapter of childish make-believes, and, taking the first train back home let us devote ourselves henceforward to the realisation of the ideal of petty self-concern which alone befits a nation of slaves. Let us at least not take the sacred name of Liberty in vain. Let us add our confession to the claim of our opponents, and admit that God, Whom the great religious teachers of the East in which all the existing religions have had their source, had taught us to regard as just, has yet been so unjust to a fifth of mankind that He has made them totally unfit for self-rule, and has left it to His White creatures hailing from Europe to correct His mistake, and carry on for all time the administration of India. But if we do not want to drag our spiritual ancestors into the mire along with ourselves and to blaspheme a just God, let us elevate ourselves to the height of our ideals and lift the masses instead of sinking down to their low level.

THE ROOT OF EVIL.

But since I have referred to the low level of the masses, let me say this much for them that what I wrote in 1904 in criticising the education given in the Indian universities is still true, and even to-day "the greater portion of bigotry agitates not the bosoms of the ignorant and the illiterate but excites to fury and to madness the little-learned of the land." And it is not the love of our own religion that makes us quarrel with our fellow-countrymen of other faiths, but self-love and petty personal ambition. "The coming of the Mahatma" had meant the destruction of "the kingdoms of the nations" and the foundation in their place of the one united Kingdom of the Nation to be whose Chief Servant was his great glory. But these little "kings" who had lost their little "thrones" were not reconciled to the idea of national service under the banner of the Nation's Chief Servant, and were pining for restoration. So long as Mahatma Gandhi and his principal co-workers were free, they had not the courage to raise the standard of revolt, and there was no room for them in the economy of the Indian world except as openly despised slaves of the foreigner or as secretly discontented adherents of the National Federation. And so they chose the latter alternative. But, with the Mahatma immured at Yerrowda: they reasserted themselves, and since they could not hope to occupy his position, they have persistently, though not professedly, addressed their appeals to communal passions and jealousies in order to destroy the National Federation and hasten the recovery of their petty principalities. Before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi several streams, some large and some small, were running more or less parallel to each other, and little boats were being rowed on them. But soon after his advent, almost all of them were diverted into one channel and became tributaries of a mighty river rapidly moving on to join the sea. On the broad bosom of this Ganges there sailed a powerful ship, manned by lusty sailors, captained by the Mahatma and flying the National flag. What the petty ambitions of petty men have been urging ever since the Mahatma's incarceration is that we should scrap the big ship and take to the little row boats again. But since these little boats are not safe enough craft for the mighty river hurrying on towards the sea; they propose a revolution in Nature itself, and ask that the great river would flow back into its old tributaries. But Nature cannot be thwarted, and the futility of the desire to make the Ganges flow backwards is a thing known even to our village fools. In the name of this Congress, and of the Indian Nation, nay, even in the name of that Destiny which shapes our ends, roughhew them how we may, I warn this little breed of men that, God willing, they will never succeed, and that the Indian Nation cannot look upon their insidious activities with unconcern.

TOLERATION AND FRATERNAL SELF-SACRIFICE

Friends, to punish the guilty is not without its advantages even in the domain of politics; but the surest remedy for political dissension, is, as I have already suggested, to create on all sides a disposition to forget and forgive. But this is not all, and if we desire to prevent a recurrence of regrettable incidents we must remove the causes of friction. Conformity in all things is only too often desired, and this not only by the bigots, but also by some of the most large-hearted of men. Religious reformers have at all times betrayed a fatal weakness for comprehension or the preparation of a religious compound formed of many simples gathered from many different sources. They have hoped that by adopting a policy of inclusion they would be able to form a faith embracing doctrines culled from diverse faiths and acceptable to all the followers of all these faiths. That is how they hope to attain Conformity and secure Conformity. But history has shown that the cause of peace and unity has not been greatly furthered by the formation of such eclectic faiths. Only too often have they added one more to the warring creeds existing before and have only increased the disunion they were creating. Such well-intentioned failures have at last made people fall back upon toleration. This is not the indifferentism and absence of strong convictions which often pass for toleration, but a far more positive principle in life which co-exists with beliefs passionately held. I could not define it better than by quoting an American who declared to a fellow-countryman of his holding very different views to his own. "I strongly disagree with every word of what you say; but I shall fight, Sir, to the last drop of my blood for maintaining your right to say it!" That, friends, is the best definition of Toleration. The Quran which calls upon Musalmans even to fight in defence of their Faith whenever their freedom of faith is assailed or jeopardised, sums up its teaching on tolerance in the words, "To you your faith, to me mine." If we all agreed to act upon this principle, and at the same time emphasised the features common to different faiths and the spirituality characteristic of all, there would be no strife in the world but peace and tranquility everywhere.

APPLICATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE TO OUTSTANDING ISSUES.

Let us apply this principle to some of the outstanding issues between the various communities of India. If, for instance, processions can be taken out on public roads and no objection is taken to music being played thereon, a Musalman should not object to a procession with music taken out by Hindus, or by other non-Muslim neighbours of his, unless it interferes with his own exercise of some recognised right such as conducting Divine Service in a fitting manner. If, again, a long pole can be carried in procession through the streets without danger to life and limb, no non-Muslim should object to it if it is so carried "with musical honours." But then the Muslims indulging in such practices which are, to say the least of it, of doubtful religious validity have no right to demand that a non Muslim neighbour of theirs should permit the lopping off of the branches of a tree which he holds sacred, whether with reason or without it, and which is growing on his land and is his property. If there is no law against smoking in public places, no Parsi should object to a non-Parsi's lighting a cigarette in a street even though he himself holds fire to be too sacred an element to be defiled in this way. Similarly, if it is no offence to slaughter animals, and a man kills a fowl, or a cow, or a pig, or kills any animal to provide food for himself or for others or for sacrificial purposes or in a particular manner not involving cruelty to animals, his neighbour should not object to it on the ground that he holds all life too sacred to be destroyed, or that he looks upon the cow as upon a mother, or that he considers a pig too unclean to be eaten, or that he is required by his own religion to kill animals in a different manner to his neighbour's. In all these cases it is, of course, presumed that the animal slaughtered is the property of the man who slaughters it or causes it to be slaughtered, and not his neighbour's whose property he may not unlawfully seize and use or destroy. But we have not alas, reached a stage of toleration in India when the free exercise of his right by one of us can escape being resented by some others. In fact the worst of it is that some of us, while they insist upon the exercise of their right, sometimes exercise it with the desire to annoy their neighbours, and in a manner that is sure to annoy them. The jeering at men of other faiths when one is taking out a procession required or sanctioned by our own faith, the beating of tom-toms and playing other instruments, which after all produce more noise than music, with special vigour before a house of worship of another community, and particularly when Divine Service or some other religious rite is in progress and is likely to be thereby disturbed; the needless lopping off of trees held sacred by Hindus which overhang public thoroughfares, or doing it in an exultant manner; the blowing of cigarette smoke in the face of, or too close to a Parsi or a Sikh; the wanton destruction of a good deal of animal life in the sight or immediate neighbourhood of Jains; carrying a garlanded cow in procession through a locality inhabited by Hindus as well for purposes of slaughter; or slaughtering it in a place where Hindus cannot help seeing it—these and many other such are things that occur only too frequently whenever there is a tension of feeling between the communities concerned. And provocation and insolent exultation of the nature described above often lead to hot words, and not seldom to blows which sometimes end in loss of human life.

HOW TO DEAL WITH SUCH MATTERS.

There can be no measure sufficiently comprehensive to safeguard public tranquility and peace in all such cases, and I can think of no National Fact embracing all such situations, even if it is permitted to assume monstrous proportions, and to include details that must make us the laughing-stock of the world. The best remedy, I must repeat, is the creation of the correct spirit in which the different communities exercise their rights. But it is possible for a national body such as the Congress to deal with some of the principal causes of friction and to remove them by bringing about an agreement between leaders of the communities concerned. And this it must do. But while attempting to influence public opinion, and to regulate public action through the agency of such leaders, with courage and conndence, a body like the Congress must be careful not to demand from any community that it should relinquish any rights which may, in the present circumstances involve a sacrifice, far beyond its capacity. It must be remembered that Swaraj, although it is our destined goal, and is soon likely to be in sight, has yet to be won, and before it is won we have no sanctions of which we can make use like a Government. We must depend exclusively upon persuasion and example. But even if we had a Government of our own, it could not rightly, or even successfully, compel large sections of the people to give up the exercise of any right unless it provided for them corresponding facilities in some other direction.

COW-KILLING.

The question of cow-killing is an instance in point. I know how sacred a cow is in the eyes of my Hindu brothers, and who knows better than my brother and myself how anxious our absent Chief was to secure its preservation? His action in so selflessly leading the Khilafat movement was no doubt characteristically generous and altruistic; but he himself used to say that he was trying to protect the cow of the Musalmans, which was their Khilafat, so that this grateful community which had learnt from its Scriptures that there could be no return for kindness save kindness, would be induced to protect his own cow in return. This was, however, only Mahatma Gandhi's way of emphasising his love for the cow. And even before he so picturesquely called the Khilafat our cow my brother and I had decided not to be any party to cow-killing ourselves. No beef is consumed since then in our house even by our servants, and we consider it our duty to ask our co-religionists to act similarly. As for sacrificing cows, my brother and I have never done it, but have always sacrificed goats, since a sacrifice of some such animal is a recognised religious duty. Much can be done in this way, and we have learnt by experience during the three or four years following the Hindu-Muslim *entente* and co-operation that it is not difficult to reduce cow-sacrifice, even before Swaraj is won, to insignificant proportions.

But, much as I desire that even ordinary cow-killing throughout the year for the purpose of providing food should be altogether discontinued, or at least reduced to similarly meagre proportions, I am only too conscious of the fact that in looking forward to an early realisation of my wishes I am hoping against hope. Musalmans in India who can afford to purchase the dearer mutton eat beef only on rare occasions. But for the poorer towns-folk among the Musalmans it is the staple food. Coming from the centre of Rohilkhand, or the land of the Rohillas, I know how difficult it is for them to discontinue the use of beef in the present circumstances. The Pathan cannot suppress his surprise when he comes across people in India who "eat corn with corn"; and Rampur wags say: "Let there be meat, even if it be a dog's." When following the fashion of British Indian Municipalities, Rampur also closed many meat shops and opened in their place a central Meat Market, it was found difficult to cope with the demand for beef, and so disastrous proved the results of a keen competition for the reduced supply that the *Market*, as it used to be called, was now descriptively re-christened *Morpeet*? In the case of this class of Musalmans the use of beef is at present a more or less acutely felt economic necessity.

The only safe and sure way of stopping cow-killing in this case is to take steps to lower the price of mutton which is prohibitively high, and thus reduce the very large margin that there is at present between the prices of mutton and beef. I am far from desiring that the cost of living should be still further increased for any section of this impoverished land, not excluding my own community, which is admittedly one of the poorest; but I cannot help pointing out that by far the most numerous owners of cows are the Hindus, and that if they did not sell cows after they had ceased to give milk, there would be much less cow-killing than there is to-day. Even now we can encourage goat and sheep breeding in order to save the cow, but when we can frame our Budgets for a Swaraj Government it should be a comparatively easy matter to utilise a considerable portion of the savings from Military expenditure for the same purpose. Nevertheless I appeal to my co-religionists even to-day to discontinue the use of beef and not to wait until Swaraj is won when their sacrifice would be worth much less. The Joint Family system of India and not the free competition of the Manchester School must be our social and political ideal for India's different communities. But if there is to be competition among the communities that form the Indian Joint Family, let it be a competition in forbearance and self-sacrifice, and I maintain that the community which willingly surrenders more of its cherished rights and strongly-entertained sentiments for the sake of sister communities and the peace and harmony of India will prove the most invincible in the end.

ADJUSTMENT OF COMMUNAL SHARES IN REPRESENTATIVE BODIES AND IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

I have already explained to you what I think about the main cause of communal quarrels and the share of the educated classes in misleading the masses and using them in order to serve their personal ambitions. But matters like cow-killing and processions with music are not the only things that provide sources of friction. The adjustment of communal shares in representative institutions, local, provincial and All-India, and in the administration also, gives rise to bitter communal dissensions, and here it is clearly impossible to shift the blame on to the masses. Once more personal ambitions well or ill disguised as communal interest play a great part, and specious phrases, such as greater efficiency and superior educational qualifications, are used to cover the injustice intended. This is all the more surprising because similar pretexts when put forward by the foreign bureaucrats are mercilessly exposed by the selfsame people. Since this fallacy of the higher efficiency of monopolists has not yet received its quietus, I am compelled to say that the intelligence of the few can never be a proper safeguard of the interests of the many. And when people are not actuated by motives of broad-minded patriotism, the superior intelligence of one group or section cannot but be regarded by other groups and sections as a rather dangerous possession. It may however, be that even where the motives are pure they are enone the less suspect. That, friends, is our *karma*, the legacy left by the injustice of past generations, and instead of taking undue offence, we must live down such reputations. In politics as in business credit has first to be established, and a good balance-sheet and a moderately good dividend are far more useful in the long run than the most attractive prospectus. We could have gone much farther on the road to Liberty and Self-Rule if minorities had been quite sure of the company which they were being invited to join. But the common platform of the Congress has now provided an excellent opportunity to all of us to prove the patriotic character of our motives, and however long it may be before we succeed in establishing our credit, nothing can be done without it; and losing our temper over unmerited suspicions, or hustling those who entertain them and trying to jockey them into an expression of confidence that they do not yet feel in us, is poor business.

The Lucknow Compact which forced the hands even of the bureaucracy and compelled it to agree to such poor Reforms as have been doled out to India would in all likelihood suffice for the present for such of us as have decided to enter the Legislatures; and even if it does not, this should spur us on, to quicken the pace and try to reach our national destination of Swaraj all the earlier so that we may re-adjust communal shares in representative bodies. Friends, let me tell you frankly that I do not consider it likely that for some time yet we can afford to dispense with separate electorates. But I can assure you no one would rejoice more than myself on the day that the minorities themselves announced that they needed no such protection. It may perhaps help you to judge of my *bona fides* in this matter if I tell you that I had strongly urged the adoption of the Indian plan for the protection of the Christian minorities in the Eastern Vilayets of Turkey known as Armenia.

But two intermediate steps may be taken before we abolish separate electorates altogether. The first is that the minorities should be free to elect any Indian as their representative. I shall deem it a great honour the day a non-Muslim minority elects me in preference to its own members to represent it in the national assembly. And I know of no Muslim to whom I could give my vote with greater confidence than to that great Khilafatist, Mahatma Gandhi.

Another step that we could well take would be the progressive creation of mixed electorates, gradually to replace separate electorates. Some of you may perhaps remember that I had opposed the Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali who did not wish to risk any seat by agreeing to the retention of some mixed electorates and wanted safe, even if fewer, seats for the Musalmans when the Minto-Morley Reforms were being discussed. As inter-communal relations improved the number of seats thrown open for contest in mixed electorates may be increased and those allotted to separate electorates decreased, till all come to be contested in mixed territorial electorates. The same policy should be adopted in throwing administrative posts open from communal to general competition.

All the foregoing considerations have to be kept in view in dealing with the composition of local bodies where, although the issues may often be petty, the passions of the people concerned are more liable to be excited.

A sad enough confirmation of this is furnished by the unfortunate dissensions in the Punjab over the distribution of municipal seats. The conditions in that province sometimes make me wonder whether Jallianwallah Bagh and the Crawling Lane are really situated in the Punjab.

MENTAL MYOPIA.

In the short passage which I quoted in the earlier part of this address from another address of mine, delivered as long ago as in 1904, I had warned my audience against placing any reliance on the "misleading unity of opposition," and I would be the last person to believe that we can remain a united people merely by feeding on the memory of Martial Law terrors. Many a coalition formed in Opposition and adversity has broken down after the first flush of victory at the polls and in the very first days of Government, and if Swaraj is not only to be won, but also to be retained thereafter, our unity must be based on something more lasting than the memories of common suffering. And yet I am compelled to remind both Hindus and Musalmanss who complain so bitterly to-day of one another's injustice that I know of nothing more difficult for either to endure from the other than the cold-blooded decision taken by General Dyer to shoot and to shoot strong at Jallianwallah Bagh and the calculated national humiliation of the Crawling Lane. It seems to me that we in the North suffer from a mental myopia, and as we move forward our sufferings are left behind, and gradually recede into obscurity, so that even at a very short distance of time the troubles of to-day blot out all recollection of the terrors of yesterday. And what is worse, each community remembers only that which it has itself suffered, retaining in its memory no record of the sufferings it had itself caused to others.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE BAD-MASHES.

But in referring thus to communities we are apt to forget that it is not communities that cause suffering to other communities in the course of popular affrays, but rowdy elements of India's population which cause injury to the peace-loving. The *badmashes* belong to no community but form a distinct community of their own, and to it all its grief that comes to the lot. I was greatly impressed by an article contributed by Lala Lajpatrai from his American exile during the War when Hindu monied classes had suffered greatly in some districts of the Punjab from the depredations of Muslim *badmashes*. There was great danger of intercommunal strife, but the Lalaji hastened to point out that the Hindu sufferers had not suffered because they were Hindus but because they belonged to the monied classes. It was a case of the Haves and the Have-Nots and not a case of the Hindus and the Musalmans. This has always to be borne in mind, particularly when there are not only the two contending parties but a third as well, which laughs just as heartily as we fight and abuse one another. Dr. Tagore has spoken a great deal since the outbreak of rowdyism in the North on the subject of inter-communal quarrels; but the reports of his lectures made me doubt a little whether he remembered what he wrote on the same subject when similar rowdyism, but more deliberate and previously planned, had broken out over cow-killing in Behar in 1917. He happened to be travelling in a compartment shared with him by a British military officer who sneered at Indian aspirations and asked the Poet how his fellow-countrymen could talk of Swaraj when he a foreigner had to be called in every now and then to take his troops to the disturbed areas and keep the peace between Indians of different faiths. Then, at least, the Poet remembered that there was a third who laughed while we suffered, and reminded the British officer of his existence. The latter asked whether there were no such quarrels before the advent of the British, and the Poet admitted their previous existence as well but he was then prompt to point out that there was one difference. They quarrelled even then, but they did not for many suns go down upon their wrath because the moment they recovered their lost tempers they also recollected that they had to live together for better for worse, and since life would be infinitely dull without more or less friendly intercourse, the sooner they made up their differences and became friends again the better. But ever since the *tertius gaudens* had come on the scene such quarrels had become more frequent and such reconciliations fewer and farther between.

THE HAND OF ESAU AND THE VOICE OF JACOB.

European husbands and Indian wives have a horror of that triangular family life in which the third side is represented by the mother-in-law. Imagine then the blessed state of that union in which the mother-in-law is not only a permanent feature of family life, but in which she alone rules the household. And worse than all, the mother-in-law that makes each of us pay for single blessedness combines *two* distinct natures in *one* person, and with ever ready sympathy consoles either party, as the occasion demands, and, better still, condemns the other, in the joint role of the mother of *both*! This would indeed be a matter for laughter if we had only sense enough not to be the dupes of this double-dealing mother-in-law. But the moment a cow is killed by a Musalman in a provocative manner, or a noisy procession is taken out by a Hindu in front of a mosque where prayer may be going on, we are ready to rush at one another's throats forgetting that Musalmans have never been known to be wanting when it was their own co-religionists that had to be denounced the Government as sectionists and rebels, and that Hindus have had no better record of communal cohesion in similar circumstances. Our own sunderings have taught us that there is never a lack of one's co-religionists to do all the dirty work that may be required of them, and when a Musalman is so ready to hurt a brother Muslim, or, for that matter, the entire Muslim community, why need we be surprised if a Hindu is employed to do the same? No, friends, like *badmash* traitors belong to no community, but form a tribe of their own. Some of you must have read Labour's denunciation of "International Finance." We have even better reason to denounce "Inter-Communal Goondaism." A Musalman may throw beef during the night into a temple or break an idol, and yet the Muslim community may be just as innocent of this provoking sacrilege as the Hindu community itself; and in similar circumstances the Hindu community may be wholly blameless even though a Hindu certainly threw pork into a mosque or desecrated the Holy Quran.

But even more clear than this is the case of a Muslim Minister who may have shown favouritism towards Musalman in the matter of patronage, and of a Hindu Minister similarly showing undue favour to Hindus. Obviously they are members of a foreign Government whatever caste-mark they may bear. The hands are the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob. And yet the people of a province that has still to stop the pensions of a Dyer and an O'Dwyer are prepared to co-operate with those who insist on paying for Indian murder out of Indian funds, and to cease to co-operate with their neighbours and fellow-sufferers, only because Minister who happens to belong to the community of the latter disposes such petty patronage as the Reforms empower him to do in a manner that does not meet with their approval. After this one wonders what Non-Co-operation means. When the Congress is publicly welcoming Indians who resign their posts, even though it thinks it is perhaps too much just yet to call upon them to resign, there are people who call themselves Congressmen but forget all that Mahatma Gandhi had taught them of Non-Co-operation only because a Minister in their province is giving a few more petty posts to members of his own community than they think he ought to do. Friends, it is not a little embarrassing to me that this Minister happens to be a co-religionist of mine; but believe me, I would have felt even more ashamed than I now feel embarrassed if the complaint about such petty posts had come from my co-religionists Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb, for whose speedy and complete recovery we all pray, has related to me what unspeakable shame he felt when co-religionists of his and mine had the hardihood to show some scratches on the walls of the mosques at Multan and some broken pitchers in justification of their counter-claim that if Hindu temples had been destroyed their own mosques did not altogether escape.

THE PARABLE OF THE WISE AND THE FOOLISH MOTHER.

Let me add that I would never have mentioned this had I wanted to complain about the Hindu attitude in the matter. I have done so because I feel certain that the Muslim mentality does not seem to be any better, and hence community is above these petty considerations. But even if the Musalmans had been any better I would not have complained of the Hindus, for experience teaches us that it serves no purpose for a member of one community to rebuke the members of another. That task must be left to its own members. How often have we not seen little children living in the same quarter of a town playing together and then quarrelling over little things? Every boy rushes back to his own mother with a woeful tale of the wickedness of his playmates, and, of course, an equally pathetic description of his own virtues. The wise mother uniformly decides against her own child and rebukes him; and if he still persists in his complaint he is told not to make such unseemly creatures his playmates any more. The street which is usually the common playground is thenceforward declared beyond the bounds. But solitude soon begins to pall upon our virtuous young friend, and a little separation begins to purge his playmates of all their sins so that by the second or third day they are completely absolved, and he asks for, and secures, his mother's permission to play with them once more though not before he is told that he is not to come to her again with the tale of his undeserved sufferings. And this is the way that peace is secured. But, alas, I have seen foolish mothers as well as wise ones, and perhaps the former constitute a majority. The moment their young hopeful comes to them for sympathy and, even worse, for effective support, they shed motherly tears of deep anguish over him, and when they have exhausted one emotion they make use of another, and, going to the mother of the wicked boy who had been so unjust to their little angel, bitterly complain of him and drop not a few hints that his upbringing has evidently been neglected. This leads to still plainer hints from the other side that the complainant was a devil incarnate, and that with such parents to bring him up it was not altogether the poor creature's fault. And then the fray begins. The big guns of abuse are sent up at a gallop, and long range howitzers which leave none scot-free up to the seventh generation are brought into action. Then appears the male auxiliary, and if he is equally devoid of common-sense and equally jealous of his *izzat*, he opens fire instantly with something that shatters the *izzat* of the adversary for ever. Thus when the her male auxiliary rushes up to the scene of action on hearing the noise of this bombardment, he calls a truce to this wordy warfare, and, like the practical creature that he is, he promptly breaks the head of the her male. And it is a lucky quarter of the town if hostilities remain confined to the families directly concerned. The best commentary on all this is furnished by the action of the brace of young barbarians with whom hostilities had commenced walking off arm-in-arm to enjoy another game of *gilli-danda* or *kabaddi* just as police may be marching the Big Four off to the lock-up!

It is such experiences as these which have taught us that the best method of settling inter-communal quarrels is neither to advocate the cause of your community, as in my time I have often done, nor even to pose as an arbitrator with an open and a judicious mind, but to earn the abuse of your own community. And since my brother and I have received an earnest of this already, I feel satisfied that not only am I qualifying myself for the office of a genuine patriot, but that I may begin to entertain hopes that the two communities will soon be reconciled. After this, need I say I recommend this course of "political exercises" to all my friends of every community?

SANGHATAN.

Having explained my own attitude at such length I do not think I am called upon to say much about the Sanghatan. I have certainly never publicly opposed it and if anybody thinks so he is mistaken, and must have been misled by some misreported speech or interview. This is entirely an affair of my Hindu brethren, and if they think they need a Sanghatan they should be allowed a perfectly free hand in the matter. Every community is entitled to undertake such social reform as it needs, and if the Sanghatan is organised to remove untouchability and to provide for the speedy assimilation of the Antyaj and their complete absorption into Hindu society, I must rejoice at it both as a Musalman and as a Congressman. Ever since the Congress at Nagpur called upon the Hindu delegates "to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability" and "respectfully urged the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes," this question has enlisted the direct interest and sympathy of the Congress. I remember very well that towards the closing months of the year 1921, Mahatma Gandhi was making the removal of untouchability the test of the Hindus' yearning for Swaraj, and if orthodox Hindu religious bodies have now seriously decided to make the required reform in Hinduism, it is bound to rejoice the hearts of that large-hearted Hindu and of all his followers.

But I cannot help recalling that this matter remained in abeyance for a considerable time, and that it was not taken up with any great zeal until after the tragic events in Malabar had caused some months later a wave of indignation and resentment to sweep over the distant Punjab, and Multan Hindus had themselves suffered from the unruly passions of the Muslim mob. It is this combination of circumstances which causes uneasiness to many of those who yearn for the unification of India and know how little weight our recently achieved unity can just yet sustain. A broken limb which has just come out of a steel frame should not be too severely strained. We may not believe every suspicion or rumour, but we must not overlook their potency for mischief if they are not quickly removed or disproved; and there is no doubt that people are busy creating the suspicion that the removal of untouchability is not intended to result in the absorption of the suppressed class

(Continued on next page.)

INDIA'S NEED OF THE HOUR.

(Continued from previous page.)

es into Hindu society, but merely to use them as auxiliaries on the Hindu side in future affrays. This being so, I ask if there is no ground for the uneasiness of Mahatma Gandhi's followers who have been sedulously taught, in the words of our resolution at Nagpur, "to lay special emphasis on non-violence being an integral part of the Non-Co-operation Resolution", and to invite the attention of the people to the fact that "Non-violence in word and deed is as essential between the people themselves as in respect of the Government, and, finally, that "the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy, but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of Non-Co-operation." If in removing the reproach of untouchability we give cause to the world to reproach us with adding to pre-existing violence, will it not sadden the heart of the Mahatma? Friends, let us befriend the suppressed classes for their own injured sakes and not for the sake of injuring others or even avenging our own injuries.

Another feature of the Sanghatan movement is the increase of interest in physical culture. This is all to the good, and if flabbiness and cowardice can be removed from any section of the Indian people there is cause only for joy. Here, too, however, there arises the question of the spirit, and I am sincerely glad that the frank discussions at Delhi last September gave an opportunity to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to proclaim to the world that he himself favours the creation of common *akhadas* in which young men of all communities can take their share. As for the protection of life and property and—I regret that I should have to add—the honour of our sisters, he again proclaimed his original intention that common territorial Civic Guards should be formed. It was only because he was told that the Hindu Sabha by which his motion was being discussed could not constitutionally bind other communities that he altered his resolution and agreed to the creation of Hindu Guards.

THE SANGHATAN OF THE CONGRESS CONCILIATION COMMITTEE.

But in entire agreement with Hindu leaders the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee recommended certain resolutions to the Congress, for adoption on all these subjects, and since they were immediately passed by the Congress let us now see that we give full effect to them. To prevent the possibility of disunion we have, in the first place, to establish at the headquarters of every district under the supervision of the District Congress Committees, and in consultation with Khilafat Committees, Hindu Sabhas and other responsible local associations, mixed Committees for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the district. In case of any incident likely to disturb such peace and security, they would endeavour to minimise its evil consequences and provide for a speedy and satisfactory settlement, and would encourage the people, in case of any provocation, to conduct themselves with restraint, and to refer the matter to such committees for redress of their grievances instead of themselves resorting to retaliatory measures. I have since then realised with grief and pain that in some districts the Congress Committees have ceased to function and that Congress workers have in some cases themselves taken a leading part in exciting inter-communal hostility. This would necessitate for some time at least the formation of supervisory bodies to check the work of the District Committees and to be a substitute for them in areas in which such Committees have not been formed. A permanent Provincial, and a similar National Conciliation Board also seem to me to be called for, and had such Boards been in existence perhaps they could have averted unfortunate collisions in some localities. These Boards could perhaps be utilised also for making enquiries into similar incidents that occur in future in spite of all our precautions, and, if necessary, to apportion the guilt between the communities concerned. Let us be ready with our machinery, and if the people know that we mean to stamp out such rowdyism and to maintain peace, security and inter-communal friendship, there is little likelihood of our having to sit in judgment upon contending communities.

CIVIC GUARDS.

In the next place, the Congress resolved at Delhi that its local Committees be instructed to form and maintain, under their own supervision and control, local Corps of Civic Guards (open to all communities), throughout the country, for the maintenance of peace and order, and for the performance of other civic duties. Local Committees of the Congress were also to be instructed to induce and encourage the people to take up physical culture, and to provide necessary facilities for this purpose so that our people may be enabled to undertake their self-defence. I have heard of communal 'dals' and 'akhadas,' but I fear the local Committees have not yet had sufficient time to organise Congress Corps of Civic Guards and open Congress 'akhadas.' I, however, know of one School of Physical Culture at Ajmer which sent some of its members to the Delhi Congress, and while pleased with their physical development, I rejoiced still more when I learnt that, in spite of much persuasion to throw in their lot with their community during the unfortunate affray there and indulge in partisan violence, these young men remained wholly non-violent and refused to take sides. Can anyone say after this that the Congress exercises no influence in favour of national unity and non-violence? Wherever we have men like our Arjunlal Sethiji, Maulana Moinuddin and Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg, we may confidently look forward to the maintenance, or, at least, the earliest possible restoration, of peace. Dr. Hardikar has, I am happy to say interested himself in the creation of Volunteer Corps, and, let me confess, friends, that even to-day when I am presiding over the Congress I feel I would be more in my element if I were working in Dr. Hardikar's place. If only the Government knew how necessary is the formation of volunteer corps of Civic Guards to keep our crowds even more peaceful than they already are and far more orderly and self-restrained, it would not dream of using its Criminal Law Amendment Act against them and their organisers, provided, of course, it too desired peace and order to prevail in the land. In this matter I have a personal end to serve also. Travelling as constantly as I do, and attending mass meeting by the dozen, and being unfortunately only too often carried in processions, I feel the need of such Corps more than the stay-at-homes among us, and I am often tempted to take in hand the local volunteers attending on such occasions, forgetting for the moment that no man can attend at his own funeral!

SENSE OF HONOUR OF OUR BADMASHES.

But let me say one word on the subject of the protection of the honour of our women before I take leave of the Sanghatan question and let me preface my last word on the subject with the admission that it is not really mine but my wife's. At Almora, where she was addressing a ladies' meeting composed mainly of her Hindu sisters, she said that if in a place such as Almora, where Musalmans form a very insignificant minority, she found that an anti-Muslim riot had broken out, and her male relations were not available to help her to protect her own or her daughter's honour, she would unhesitatingly appeal to the first Hindu as to a brother even if she knew him to be a 'badmash,' and ask him to take her and her children under his personal protection. She said she had enough confidence in the sense of honour even of India's 'badmashes' and in their "sportmanship," so to speak, and I doubt if there are many 'badmashes' in India on whom such a personal appeal of a sister in distress will fail to have any effect. Friends' trust disarms even wickedness and succeeds where six-chambered revolvers fail, and Shakespeare knew human nature better than some of us seem to do when he wrote: "There is a soul of goodness in things evil."

I cannot do better than to appeal to my sisters to teach us to trust each other more than we do at present, and by their own courageous confidence develop in the worst of us that God-given "soul of goodness."

SHUDDHI.

Another movement that has affected Hindu-Muslim relations is Suddhi. I myself believe in a missionary religion, should be taken to mean one in which, in the words of Professor Max Muller, the spreading of the truth and the conversion of unbelievers are raised to think rank of a sacred duty. It is the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers which cannot rest unless it manifests itself in thought, word and deed, which is not satisfied till it has carried its message to every human soul, till what it believes to be the truth is accepted as the truth by all the members of the human family. Christianity and Buddhism as well as Islam are known to be missionary religions, but Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Hinduism are generally regarded as non-missionary.

Now, this has been my complaint for a long time against Hinduism, and on one occasion, lecturing at Allahabad in 1907, I had pointed out the contrast between Musalmans and Hindus, by saying that the worst that could be said of a Muslim was that he had tasteless mess which he called a dish fit for kings, and wanted all to share it with him, thrusting it down the throats of such as did not relish it and would rather not have it, while his Hindu brother who prided himself on his cookery, retired into the privacy of his kitchen and greedily devoured all that he had cooked, without permitting even the shadow of his brother to fall on his food, or sparing even a crumb for him. This was said not altogether in levity; and, in fact, I once asked Mahatma Gandhi to justify this feature of his faith to me. It will be strange, then, if to-day when there are evidences of a missionary zeal in the activities of my Hindu brethren, I should resent their efforts in spreading their faith. More than that, if the Malkana Rajputs are in reality so unfamiliar with Islam as to be taken for Hindus, Musalmans must thank Hindu missionaries for so forcibly reminding them of their own duty to look to the condition of millions of Musalmans whose knowledge of Islam is as defective as their practice of its rites is slack.

Both communities must be free to preach as well as practice the tenets of their respective faiths. There are competing types of culture in the world, each instinct with the spirit of propagandism, and I hope we live in an age of conscious selection as between ideal system. We cannot surely wish to practice that wasteful, and, at best, a precarious, elimination of "false doctrine" but actual destruction of those who hold it. I hope the age of the Spanish Inquisition has gone for ever, and no one would think of abolishing heresy by wiping out the heretic. Progress is now possible along the more direct and less painful path of conversion. But it must be the result of the exercise of the power of rational choice, and the man whose conversion we seek must be free to choose his faith. What true Muslim could be satisfied by the kind of "conversion" which some fanatical Moplahs are believed to have effected during the period of the Malabar troubles by forcibly depriving some Nairs of their tufts of hair indicating their Hindu faith? No better in the sight of God is that outward conformity which is forced upon a person by bringing undue worldly pressure to bear upon him.

Allegations of such pressure by zemindars and money-lenders and by a numerical majority of neighbours in the surrounding area have been made and denied, and counter-allegations have been made. This cannot but react unfavourably on national unity; and when over very small matter the decision to put a stop to all demonstrative and inflammatory methods of mass conversion and reclamation was given up, the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee at Delhi recommended to the Congress a resolution which was duly adopted, that a Committee be formed to enquire into incidents connected with "Shuddhi" and "Anti-Shuddhi" movements, to visit places wherever coercion, intimidation, exercise of undue pressure or influence, or use of methods of proselytisation inconsistent with such a religious object is alleged or suspected, and to recommend such means as it thinks necessary for the prevention of such practices. Every political party in the West is, or at least, pretends to be, jealous of its honour, and willingly consents to have a Corrupt Practices Act passed by the Legislature. We who pride ourselves on our great spirituality must be truly jealous of our reputations and a national body like the Congress is a proper authority to advise all communities in this matter, if not to enforce a Corrupt Practices Act as part of the unwritten law of the nation. My own belief is that both sides are working with an eye much more on the next decennial Census than on heaven itself, and I frankly confess it is on such occasions that I sigh for the days when our forefathers settled things by cutting heads rather than counting them.

ABSORPTION OR CONVERSION.

The quarrels about *alams* and *pipal* trees and musical processions are truly childish, but there is one question which can easily furnish a ground for complaint of unfriendly action if communal activities are not amicably adjusted. This is the question of the conversion of the Suppressed Classes if Hindu society does not speedily absorb them. The Christian missionary is already busy and no one quarrels with him. But the moment some Muslim Missionary Society is organised for the same purpose there is every likelihood of an outcry in the Hindu Press. It has been suggested to me by an influential and wealthy gentleman who is able to organise a Missionary Society on a large scale for the Conversion of the Suppressed Classes, that it should be possible to reach a settlement and divide the country into separate areas where Hindu and Muslim Missionaries could respectively work, each Community preparing for each year, or longer unit of time if necessary an estimate of the numbers it is prepared to absorb or convert.

SJT. K. VENKATAPPAYYA.



CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

These estimates would of course be based on the number of workers and funds each had to spare, and tested by the actual figures of the previous period. In this way each community would be free to do the work of absorption and conversion, or rather of reform without chances of collision with one another. I cannot say in what light my Hindu brethren will take it, and I place this suggestoin tentatively in all frankness and sincerity before them. All that I say for myself, is that I have seen the condition of the *kali paraj* in the Baroda State and of the Gonds in the Central Provinces and I frankly confess it is a reproach to us all. If the Hindus will not absorb them into their own society, others will and must, and then the orthodox Hindu too will cease to treat them as untouchables. Conversion seems to mute them by a strong alchemy. But does this not place a premium upon conevrsion?

THE DUTY OF THE PRESS.

Once more the best and surest remedy is a change in the spirit of proselytisation; but that cannot be expected with a Press so unrestainedly partisan as we have to-day in parts of India. I am myself a journalist and you all know that I have undergone some little suffering for the sake of securing the freedom of the Indian Press. At least, I can claim the honour, if honour it be, to have figured in the leading case under the late lamentable Press Act, and it was I who started this fox even if I could not be at the kill. The removal of these external fetters makes it all the more necessary that we should exercise greater restraint than before over ourselves. But what I have seen of the Vernacular Press in the Punjab makes me apprehend that if it is not checked by the combined efforts of all Congressmen it will make us sigh for the resurrection of that dead and damned piece of bureaucratic legislation. Not that the bureaucracy would find much in our Punjab papers to which it would be inclined to apply the provisions of the Press Act even if it were resurrected, or in the estimation of the bureaucrat offence punishable under Section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code is not to be named in the same breath with that punishable under Section 124-A of that Code. And even though the Press Act is no more, the Penal Code and the Civil Courts, where damages can be claimed by officials financed by the Government for alleged defamation, serve the Government well enough. But the nation remains wholly unprotected, and it is up to us not to leave it so exposed. It was I who strongly urged the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee last September to recommend to the Congress a resolution on the subject of the Press. The Congress was asked to instruct its Working Committee to issue a manifesto inviting the attention of the Indian newspapers to the extreme necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter-communal relations, and also in reporting events and incidents relating to inter-communal dissessions and in commenting upon them. It was asked to appeal to them not to adopt an attitude which might prove detrimental to the best interests of India and which might embitter the relations between different communities. It was also recommended to the Congress that its Working Committee might be instructed to appoint in each province a small Committee which should request such newspapers as publish any matter likely to create inter-communal dissensions that they should desist from following such a course of action, and that if, in spite of this friendly advice, no useful result were achieved, these Committees should proclaim such newspapers. If even after this they did not alter their attitude, a boycott of them by Congressmen was to be declare in the last resort. The Congress adopted this resolution also, but I fear its executive has not yet had time to carry out the instructions issued by the Congress. The most important work that we have to do, apart from that of restoring Hindu-Muslim unity, is to organise an adequate permanent establishment for the Congress and its Provincial and Local Committees, for it is no use passing Resolutions in the Congress which cannot be attended to by the honorary executive for lack of a paid, permanent establishment.

Friends, you may perhaps say, I have taken up too much of your time in describing and detailing what the Congress did at Delhi and have hardly any proposals to place before you to-day. My answer is that you need few fresh proposals if you are determined to carry out those which you have already accepted. At Delhi we were able to proclaim to the world that we were not satisfied with the existing state of affairs and that we were resolved to remain united. That itself cleared the air to a great extent; but this was not all. We had provided remedies essentially sound in principle for our national ills; only we have not so far had time to use them. We spent perhaps too much in examining, analysing and criticising the resolutions we had passed at Delhi, and a large section of Congressmen has been kept busy by the elections. Unless you adopt other measures to restore the national unity, it will be the duty of your executive to carry out the measures already adopted. But your executive will fail to accomplish anything of lasting value unless it has your ungrudging support and active assistance. In fact, you are your own most effective executive, and as your servant specially nominated by you for the year that is now commencing I appeal to you to assist me in carrying out your own orders.

To the Indian Press I would address is my most earnest appeal urging the Press to rise to the height of the occasion and not to disappoint the high expectations of one who is himself a journalist. When I was recently at Bijapur again and for the first time visited its famous dome, a friend who was as deeply impressed as myself by that wonderful pile, asked me in a whisper right across the dome if Europe with all its boast of superiority had a whispering gallery such as that of the 'Gol Gunbad.' It is no doubt a most astonishing experience to be able to hear distinctly accross such a great space everything that is whispered, and the nine echoes heard in that gallery are equally remarkable. My friend was for the moment living the brilliant past of Bijapur over again and felt inordinate pride in the achievements of his Muslim ancestors. It was no doubt a great shock to him when I whispered back that the Whispering Gallery of Europe was even more marvellous. And then I told him that Europe's Whispering Gallery was the Press, its Fourth Estate! Every lie softly whispered in the privacy of the Editor, Proprietor's sanctum was shouted across all the continents, increasing in pitch and volume with every reverberation till it ended in the united shriek of hundreds of millions, leaving no chance for poor tongue-tied truth to be heard. And yet it is just as easy to make the world resound with the thunderpeals of Truth as with the shrieks of Falsehood, and it is for the Indian Press to choose whether it will serve as the Whispering Gallery of Truth or of Falsehood.

SWARAJ AND FOREIGN AGGRESSION.

Before I take final leave of the Hindu-Muslim question I wish to declare that if India wins Swaraj it will satisfy all the religious requirements of a Muslim in India. Swaraj, Sarv-Raj, or the Raj of all, implies Swadharma, and must imply that in an Eastern country. It is not therefore necessary that a Musalman should sit on the throne of the Mughals at Delhi, and we have all seen how the greatest Muslim State has ceased to have a Royal Throne and has converted itself into a Republic. Every true Muslim looks back with pride upon the Thirty Years of the Truly Guided Khalifas during which the Successors of the Prophet and the Commanders of the Faithful (with whom Allah was pleased) were the Chief Servants of the Commonwealth. Islam spread over the major portion of the civilised world and its empire extended over all the continents of the known world; but no Muslim holds dear the memory of Islam's later conquests and expansion as that of the first thirty years wher it was the pride of the Muslim envoy to tell the envoys of the Byzantine and Iranian empires who had been boasting of the despotic power of their respective rulers that the Muslims had themselves appointed their ruler and would depose him just as readily if he acted against the Law of God. Victory has not been snatched from the jaws of defeat and despair by the valiant and God-fearing Turks to no purpose, and I feel confident that once they are free from the distractions inevitable after the victories both of war and peace they will revive with God's assistance the glories not of the Omayyide or Abbaside Empire but of the first Thirty Years of the Khilafat before there were any kings or dynasts.

I have my own views of the possible adjustment of the relations of all Muslim States and the Khalifa, but this is not the occasion to state them. It would suffice if I state here that Musalmans can satisfy all their religious requirements no matter who is their secular sovereign so long as they recognise that "there is no governance but God's", and that "Him alone are we commanded to serve." As in every religion there are in Islam certain things which every Musalman is required to do, and certain things which he is required not to do. Between these duties and prohibitions lie a vast stretch of ground in which he is free to roam about except for certain things which are in the nature of preferences. Now a Musalman can obey no creature of God who commands him to neglect one of these duties or to disregard one of these prohibitions, and it makes no difference whether that person is one of his own parents or his master or ruler, whether he is an enemy or a friend or whether he is Muslim or a non-Muslim so long as the temporal power of Islam is adequate and is always at the disposal of the Khalifa, it matters little whether a Muslim is a subject of a Muslim or of a non-Muslim. All he needs is the fullest freedom to obey none but God in the matter of his religious duties and prohibitions. Even if a Muslim sovereign, nay, even if the Khalifa himself, commanded him to disobey God, he must refuse; and it is obvious that he could not render unto a non-Muslim Caesar what he could not render unto a Muslim Caesar because it was due only to God. This being so, I cannot understand why there need be any question of a Muslim's unflinching loyalty to a Swaraj and Swadharma government.

As for the bogey of His Majesty the Ameer of Afghanistan attacking India with the assistance of Indian Muslims, it is the creation of fear and cowardice, and can only be laid at rest by courage and self-confidence. I must say it did my heart good to hear my esteemed friend Pandit Jawaharlal say, "Let us win Swaraj and we shall see who comes. We shall certainly be ready to meet all comers, and it will be no easy matter to snatch away Freedom from the hands that have succeeded in winning it back after a century-and-a-half of slavery. As for myself if India ever needs a humble soldier to resist an aggressor, be he the Muslim or non-Muslim, your comrade whom you have to-day called out of the ranks will gladly fill his place in the ranks. He certainly will be no deserter.

AFGHANISTAN.

I have heard that my Madras speech of 1921 which, had been considered in official circles to be highly treasonable, although it embodied nothing more or less than the sentiments my brother and I had expressed in a letter we had addressed from the Betul gaol to the Viceroy, has not found much favour even in Afghanistan. And I do not wonder that our Afghan neighbours feel a little hurt when they are so often described as if they were harbouring designs on India. If only we knew how difficult His Majesty the Ameer must be finding the task of organising his kingdom and developing its resources without the assistance of foreign personnel, we would not talk of the possibility of Afghan aggression. Afghanistan is enough to keep him and his government fully occupied without the additional worry of the problem of how a Kabul pony can swallow an Indian elephant. If the Afghans are hurt merely because I explained my own position in the event of a hypothetical aggression from Afghanistan what must be my own feelings in having to explain that position? Because I am a Muslim I have not ceased to be an Indian and it is surely humiliating to any Indian's national pride to think that his fellow countrymen regard his country and theirs as an easy prey for any foreign assailant no matter how weak

"AND THE FOURTH WOULD KNOCK ME DOWN!"

Friends, you will forgive me if I relate a story here which seems so applicable to our own situation. I have to preface it with a special apology to my Banya friends because, whosoever may have been the author of the story, he had certainly lived in an age much anterior to ours when the most courageous leader that India has known in recent times happens to be no other than a Banya, and one of his chief lieutenants and lovers is "my brave Banya" as I call my dear friend Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. The story is that four travellers happened to meet each other on the road and agreed to travel together for safety's sake. It happened that after dusk they were met by some highwaymen who demanded the surrender of all their belongings. Then they discovered that their assailants were also only four. One of the travellers who was a Rajput whispered to his companion who was a Pathan that he could successfully tackle the biggest of the highwaymen. Thereupon the Pathan assured the Rajput that, for his part, he too could manage to deal with the next biggest. Thus encouraged the third of the travellers who was a middle-aged Brahmin said: "And I could knock down the third." Then came the turn of the fourth who was a Banya, and equally promptly came his declaration: "And the fourth would knock *me* down!" This led the Brahmin to apprehend that in that case he might be required to tackle not one but two, and he decided to give in. The Pathan too gave it in for fear he might have to deal with three assailants, and, finally the Rajput also surrendered because obviously he was no match for all the four. And all this because one traveller out of the four had felt just as convinced that the fourth highwayman would knock him down as his three companions were convinced that they could knock down one highwayman apiece!

NEED OF COURAGE AND CONFIDENCE.

May I not ask you, friends, if it is not now time when we have a Banya for our brave leader for all of us to give up such conviction of defeat before the battle is joined? Why, only recently a Delhi paper published the remarkable discovery of its secret Investigator that a Delegation consisting of two aged Arabs and one young one who have come from Palestine with the permission of the Government to raise funds from Indian Musalmans for the repair of the Masjid-ul-Aqsa and the Qubbat-us-Sakhra at Jerusalem is the vanguard of an invading force of Arabs! Not with such fears and suspicions and tremors can Freedom be won. This, friends, is the way to lose even the little we have. It reminds me of the curse of the Lord on Israel which is recorded in Deuteronomy:

> he Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed and thou perish quickly.
> The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies, thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them: and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.
> And thy carcase shall be meat unto all the fowls of the air, and unto beasts of the earth and no man shall fray them alive.
> The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart:
> And thou shalt grope at noonday as the blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways: and thou shalt be only oppressed and spoiled evermore, and no man shall save thee.
> Thou shalt build an house, and thou shalt not dwell therein: thou shalt plant a vineyard and thou shalt not gather the grapes thereof.
> Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people and thine eyes shall look and fail with longing for them all the day long; and there shall be no might in thine hand.
> The fruit of thine land and all thy labours, shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up; and thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed alway;
> So that thou shalt be mad for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.
> And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee.
> The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low.
> He shall lend to thee and thou shalt not lend to him; he shall be the head and thou shalt be the tail.
> Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed;
> And they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder and upon thy seed for ever.

THE TURKS' MESSAGE.

[illegible] duty of the Musalmans to stay in a hostile one. They owe a duty to themselves as Indians to secure freedom for themselves and for their posterity. [illegible] is no less their country than the Hindus', and even if the Hindus were to shrink from the sacrifices required in freedom's battle, though they will certainly [illegible] so, it would still be their duty to persevere and to say that they would win Swaraj for an India even if they received no aid from the rest of India. But as Musalmans too they are to secure Swaraj for their country. When I met the Turks in Paris, in Switzerland and in Rome they rendered now the same country that had despatched a large army, which included so considerable a proportion of Musalmans, to get against them could also send a deputation that ours to plead for better terms for them after their defeat. When I solved this riddle for them by explaining the paradox that many of the Muslim warriors that were not afraid of the Turkish sword or the German gun and could pass months and years in those death-traps called trenches, were yet afraid of of the policeman's truncheon and of police lockups and prison cells, my Turkish friends told me that in that case I must take the first boat back to India, and, instead of endeavouring to prevent their enslavement I should go and break the fetters of my own countrymen. "We have beaten the English", they said "on the soil of Turkey and in the Straits; but we could not keep at bay for ever your Indian hordes that pressed us hard in Palestine and in Mesopotamia. Once you are free and no Indian Muslim can any longer be driven to fight against the forces of the Khalifa, both Turkey and Islam will be safe. It is your duty to us as well to yourselves that you first win freedom in your own country." But they added, "let not your Hindu and Sikh fellow-countrymen think that they owe a duty only to themselves and none to us. It is in order to keep them

(Continued on next page.)

INDIA'S NEED OF THE HOUR.

(Continued from previous page.)

enslaved that Britain has forged such heavy chains for us."

AN EASTERN FEDERATION.

Friends, I am glad to hear that so many of my Hindu fellow-workers are thinking of establishing a relationship with other Eastern countries. Their political ideas have scaled the ramparts of the Himalayas and crossed the moat of the surrounding seas. They recognise that the freedom of every Asiatic nation helps their own freedom, and they contemplate the organisation of an Eastern Federation. The first step had already been taken by Mahatma Gandhi when at Amritsar he identified himself with the cause of the Khilafat. It would be a strange thing if while the Hindus set about organising an Eastern Federation, Indian Musalmans should cease to co-operate with them all because one newspaper correspondent realised in the sufferings of the Musalmans at Saharanpur the tragic scenes enacted at Smyrna. Nothing could be more foolish and more absurd than this, and if the Turks ever came to hear of this comparision they would not feel an excess of gratitude for us.

A FINAL QUESTION TO THE MUSALMANS

But one question and one only I shall ask those who point to the episode of Saharanpur—where no doubt it is the Hindus that have suffered most—as a sufficient reason to veer round from Non-co-operation to co-operation. And that question is this. Was there no British Government ruling in India when Musalmans had to undergo such unmerited sufferings? Was a Hindu administering the district or even a Non-co-operating Muslim? Finally, was not the department of justice administered by a Musalman who had broken away from the community of which he used to be a great leader at one time and had co-operated with the foreign Government? These are not three separate questions, but one, viz. if neither the Government nor those Musalmans who co-operate with it were able to save the Musalmans of Saharanpur, what prospect is there of any greater safety for them if these conditions are perpetuate by our co-operation? I pause for an answer, but I fear I shall not get it.

In the meantime, the Holy Land of Islam remains in the custody of non-Muslim mandatories. Five times a day every Musalman who offers his daily prayers with regularity turns his face towards the Ka'ba. While I was still in the Bijapur gaol a question occurred to me which I put into verse, and it still remains unanswered.

(His Ka'ba facing which we were daily offering prayers, what stall we say to Him how it was left under the enemy's control?)

THE BLOW RECALLED AFTER THE FIGHT.

Friends, I have said all that I could say on the Hindu-Muslim question and if after all this lengthy dissertation I leave any Hindu or Musalman, still unconvinced of the necessity of co-operation among ourselves and Non-co-operation with our foreign masters, I can say no more and must acknowledge myself beaten. One thing is certain, and it is this, that neither can the Hindus can exterminate the Musalmans to-day nor can the Musalmans get rid of the Hindus. If the Hindus entertain any such designs they must know that they lost their opportunity when Mohamed bin Qasim landed on the soil of Sindh twelve hundred years ago. Then the Musalmans were few, and to-day they number more than seventy millions. And if the Musalmans entertain similar notions, they too have lost their opportunity. They should have wiped out the whole breed of Hindus when they ruled from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Chittagong. And as the Persian proverb says, the blow that is recalled after the fight must be struck on one's own jaw. If they cannot get rid of one another, the only thing to do is to settle down to co-operate with one another, and while the Musalmans must remove all doubts from the Hindu mind about their desire for Swaraj for its own sake and their readiness to resist all foreign aggression, the Hindus must similarly remove from the Muslim mind all apprehensions that the Hindu majority is synonymous with Muslim servitude. As for myself, I am willing to exchange my present servitude for another in which my Hindu fellowcountryman would be the slave-driver instead of the foreign master of my destiny, for by this exchange I would at least prevent the enslavement of 250 million of fy co-religionists whose slavery is only another name for the continued existence of European Imperialism. When at Lucknow in 1916 some Hindus complained to my late chief, Bal Gangadhar Tilak Maharaj, that they were giving too much to the Musalmans, he answered back like a true and far-seeing statesman; "You can never give the Musalmans too much." To-day when I hear complaints that we are showing great weakness in harping on Hindu-Muslim unity when the Hindus show no desire to unite. I say, "You can never show too great weakness in your dealings with Hindus." Remember, it is only the weak who fear to appear too weak to others. With this observation I take my last leave of this question without a proper and a lasting settlement of which we can effect nothing.

COUNCIL-ENTRY.

This was the main question to be dealt with at Delhi even though the Special Session was held in order to arrive at a settlement of the Council-entry question. I have devoted so large a portion of my address to it not only because of its importance, but also because happily the other is no longer a live issue. At Delhi at my solicitation the Congress removed the ban and permitted those who had no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the Legislatures or voting at the then forthcoming elections to do so, and suspended the propaganda in favour of the boycott of Councils which had achieved such singal success three years previously. The elections have been held, and it can, in my humble judgment, serve no useful purpose to re-open a question which kept us occupied in much sterile activity for more than a year and sorely tried our tempers. I hold strong views on the subject of the triple boycott of Councils, law-courts and schools and colleges, and did not shrink from giving expression to them in strong, or, as my Swarajist friends complained, perhaps in too strong language in the course of the discussion in the Subjects Committee at Delhi. I hold the same views to-day, and would gladly give expression to them again in equally strong language if I could be convinced that it was necessary and in the best interests of the Congress and the country. But of this I am as little convinced as of the soundness of the Swaraj Party views, and, on the contrary, I am fully convinced that no word should escape me which would estrange from the Indian National Congress a single Indian who has any national feeling. In fact, I desire to take a leaf out of the book of the late Lord Morley, whose recent death has removed from the world one who had shown both courage and resource in asking his fellow-countrymen also to do such justice to India as he himself was capable of doing. "Let us rally the Moderates."

THE MODERATES AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

I take no party view of the recent elections, and the franchise is far too restricted to read in them the judgment of the nation But if one thing is more certain than another it is this, that India refuses to co-operate any longer with its foreign rulers. Many things have helped to disillusion those honest Nationalists who still held the opinions which many of us held as recently as four years ago. The discussions in the Imperial Council with regard to the status of Indians overseas have been so extensively advertised that it must be a very foolish fish that would still be deceived by the poor bait offered. South Africa where the Indian population still numbers 160,000 is adamant. The Imperial Government which cannot plead its impotence to interfere in the so-called "internal affairs" of the free Dominions when Kenya and other Crown Colonies are concerned, cannot hold out any hopes of reversing its palpably iniquitous decision, and has only consented to hear India's case once more. But the other Dominions are "sympathetic" since sympathy costs so little, and even here they are not quite so optimistic where the Indians in British Columbia, of the "Komagata Maru" fame, still numbering some 1,100 are concerned, though the rest of Canada, which has only a bare hundred, is disposed to be generous. I am prepared to give the fullest credit to the impassioned advocacy and highly emotional appeals of Dr. Sapru, and his victory has been complete. But, alas, he had aimed so low from the very outset that his victory leaves such of us as could not like him feel the heat of the encounter uncomfortably cold.

It reminds me of a friend who had left a lucrative enough post, and, making a new departure for an up-country Muslim graduate had started business as a commission agent in Bombay. One day he met me with every show of exultatiin, and announced that he had closed the day with cent per cent. profit in the transaction that had kept him so fully engaged. But when I asked for more details I learnt that my friend had sold a few dozen Japanese paper serviettes, and that the cent. per cent. profit would hardly pay the day's rent of his office. After long and weary years of strife the Imperial Council passed in 1921 a Resolution recognising the desirability of conceding equal status to Indians overseas, but *Hamlet* was acted with the part of the Prince of Denmark carefully cut out by General Smuts, the Imperial Dramatic Censor. And yet India was asked to rejoice over her cent. per cent. profits. However, as it happened the profits remained unrealised, and two whole years later the battle had to be fought again over the Imperial counter. There were doubts about the nature of the bargain. Such as whetner payment was only desirable or necessary, and here the slim Boer General wanted to rescind the entire transaction. But luck has favoured the travelling agents of India again, even though there was much disagreement among them, and one of the two has made a discovery not less remarkable than that of Columbus inasmuch as he has discovered in the Boer General a skilfully disguised friend of India. We have secured cent. per cent. profits again, and a roving commission will go out to each of the partners in the other party's firm and by direct dealing ascertain what prospect there is of any payment. This, then, is the net gain. Dr. Sapru's travelling agents, no doubt some of the Great Unemployed, will have the great privilege of having direct dealings with the partners of John Bull, Sons and Co. Lest I may be suspected of belittling the results achieved, I quote the conclusion laboriously reached by the "Times" at the tag end of its leading article on "India and the Commonwealth." "The spirit of sympathy," concludes the "Times", "and of good-will expressed by the representatives of the British Government and of the Dominions Overseas, the sincere appreciation of the share of India in the Commonwealth—these are hardly less important to her than the practical recognition of her right to negotiate for herself with the other partners." Yes, Dr. Sapru and his royal companion have indeed secured "the practical recognition of India's right to negotiate for herself with the other parners", but when will the bargain be concluded and payment received, and—what will be its amount?

Imperial Conferences will no doubt continue to succeed each other with great regularity, and the success of the Indian dependency at each will be advertised more and more extensively. But it is too much for poor human nature to wait patiently and continue to hope while the Imperial stratification proceeds from the Archean or Pre-Cambrian stratum through all the Paleozoic Mesozoic, Cainozoic strata or divisions in their true order of antiquity, and the long list of subdivisions, such as the Eocene, Oligocene, Miocene, and Phocene, before we come to the Pleistocene or Glacial and finally to the Post-Glacial or Human period. No honest Moderate would be so moderate as to be satisfied with this crawling pace of our Imperial progress and no honest Liberal could be so liberal as to give unlimited time to England to do us bare justice, especially when they recognise, as they must more and more clearly as each day passes, that a wrong system if education is fast paralysing us and robbing us of our youth and manhood.

When their disillusionment is just as complete as ours, the question will still have to be answered, "How far are they prepared to go?" Non-Co-operation has from the very outset required only the minimum sacrifice from the maximum number, though even the minimum in the Post-Gandhi era far exceeds the maximum in most cases of the Pre-Gandhi period. But Liberty can neither be won nor retained on the principle of Limited Liability. Dr. Sapru's advocacy may have been all that it could be, but what is there to follow it? Only "resolutions," petitions and protests, and at best a silly *hartal* to wind up with? If that is all, let us leave off this crazy pursuit of politics. Those whose ancestors have won freedom on the field of Runnymede or after the "crowning mercy" of Worcester or by razing the Bastile to the ground may play with politics. We have yet to win our Magna Carta and our Bill of Rights, and it is premature for us to treat politics as a Western pastime. For long we thought in terms of the Penal Code, and how we think we have advanced very far on the road of Reform if we think in terms of Dicey and of Erskine May. We forget that we have still to think in terms of History! I am prepared to admit that the Liberal gun is long enough. The length of the barrel, however, counts for little. It is the charge behind that matters. Once every Liberal or Moderate makes up his mind that patriotism must be to him as it was to every patriot in the world's history who won freedom for his country from a foreign yoke—a matter of unlimited liability, then—all is well. The Congress is his proper place even though he may at first proceed at a slow pace from force of habit. And it is just because I know that the leaders of the Swaraj Party are prepared to go to any length that I refused to be a party to driving them out of the Congress.

BARDOLI AND THE SWARAJ PARTY.

It is true many of the Swarajists have retained to this day something of their laboriously acquired Western mentality and revel in Parliamentary discussions and debates. Many more who have willingly relinquished all thought of the use of force even for purposes of self-defence want the spice of this wordy warfare to make the insipid fare prepared at Bardoli piquant enough for their jaded palates. Many more still have not fully understood the almost unlimited possibilities of the *charkha* which must revolutionise Indian life while it frees us from economic slavery. Above all, the Swaraj party is the embodiment of the depression experienced by all India when Mahatma Gandhi, after having brought the country to the very door of Swaraj, suddenly had to declare that it was unwise to force that door by resorting to mass Civil Disobedience, and that his plan of action must be changed from an offensive bold to the verge of audacity to a defensive which to those who did not know our generalissimo looked almost like a surrender. But, as I told the Mahatma when I was passing through Bardoli on my way from the Karachi gaol to the Bijapur gaol, his change of plan was out of his strength and not out of his weakness and had he been left for some weeks longer he would have changed the face of the whole situation. He was, however, arrested and imprisoned before the people had recovered from the first depressing shock of Bardoli, and although there were hundreds and thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands and millions, who loved him and felt the pang of separation, apparently there was none who could put a new life into the Bardoli programme, and make full use of the weapon of offence which the Government had placed in Indian hands by treating the Mahatma as a felon. I have not sufficient data at my disposal to enable me to say whether the Mahatma was justified in listenng to the despairing counsel of those who hastened to inform him that mass Civil Disobedience free from grave danger of violence was impossible after the Chauri-Chaura affair. But I do think Civil Disobedience free from such danger was possible immediately on the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, and I would have deliberately disobeyed my chief and fought the Government with the weapon it had placed in my hand. No physician, as my brother says, is permitted to prescribe anything for himself when he is ailing, and after Mahatma Gandhi was "buried alive" it was enough if we paid due regard to his creed of Non-Violence without having to carry out his testamentary injunction with regard to the suspension of Civil Disobedience also. Had such a course been followed I doubt if the Swaraj party would have come into being.

FUTURE RELATIONS OF THE CONGRESS AND THE SWARAJ PARTY.

Be that as it may, the existence of the Swaraj party cannot be ignored, whatever view we may have formed about its genesis. Its early beginnings were small enough, but the peregrinations of the Civil Disobedience Committee, which occupied the time, attention and energies of some of our best workers, also succeeded in diverting the attention of all from the work of construction, and drove many of the most zealous among our younger men into the group which sought to enter the Councils. It is an idle speculation now, except to the extent that it helps us to formulate a plan for future work to estimate how the chances of this group would have been affected if the programme of constructive work had been pushed forward and the younger men had been kept busy. On the other hand, some of my Swarajist friends also want me to plunge into speculation and estimate how much greater would have been their success at the polls than it has already been if the Delhi self-denying ordinance suspending our boycott propaganda had been issued at Gaya. I might answer them by suggesting another line of speculation based on characteristic self-conceit, *viz.*, whether there would have been any Swaraj party in existence at all if I had been permitted to be with them at Gaya to dissuade them from following a course of such doubtful wisdom. But all this is idle talk now. The Swaraj party is there to-day, and even though it may be composed of some very dissimilar elements, it is undoubtedly strong enough in numbers to-day and has always been strong in the quality of its leadership. More than all else, it was permitted at Delhi to go to the polls on its own moral and religious responsibility. It has gone there, and has achieved great enough success considering what forces were arrayed against it, how short a time it had in which to organise its own forces, and how greatly it was handicapped by the fact that some of its best members were disqualified from contesting the elections owing to their having undergone longer terms of imprisonment than those which do not affect eligibility. Then, too, electoral rolls were most defective, mainly perhaps because three years ago nobody but the Liberals cared for such things and until very recently even those who ultimately joined the Swaraj party had not finally made up their minds to contest the elections or to go to the polls is true a very large number of votes have been given not to the individuals that sought them, but to the Congress, and,—"Tell it not in Gath; whisper it not in the streets of Ascalon"—to Mahatma Gandhi himself! There are friends of mine whose distress at such things is very deep, and who consider it a sacrilege thus to take the name of the Mahatma in vain. I greatly sympathise with them, and certainly cannot say that I approve of such poltical methods. But it must be remembered that those to whom the people offered such votes were immeasurably nearer to Mahatma Gandhi than those who were opposed to them. Moreover, there were some among them who were inclined to sneer in a superior sort of way at a Mahatma so little versed in the affairs of this world as to pin his faith to the silly *charkha*, which even our womenfolk had discarded in these advanced days. They thought that he was something of a bungler and a blunderer where finesse was required in dealing with the bureaucrats and with a Viceroy who was supposed to have out-Yankeed the Yankees during the War. Their election experiences must have convinced not a few of these men that the Mahatma's name is still one to conjure with, and that whatever skill in finessing they may possess, their strength even in the Councils lies in the backing which the people who loved and revered the Mahatma were prepared to give to them as his followers and associates. This experience is a valuable asset to them, and the good-sense, restraint and dignity which their leaders have shown in the hour of their victory in full conformity with our expectations from them, make them a valuable element in the Congress. It is true we have no such expectations from their programme as they have themselves; but, while removing, where really necessary, any idea that may be lurking in the people's mind that it is not the constructive programme but the Councils that bring in Swaraj we must give to the Swarajists a perfectly free hand, and add to that our heartiest good wishes that they may succeed. We suspended at Delhi the exercise of our right to carry on a propaganda of Council-boycott; but we surrendered no principle. Nor are we prepared to do that to-day, as we shall no doubt be doing if we agree to accept any responsibility of guiding the Swarajists in the Councils. This we cannot do. Obviously, the Swarajists will not be able to spare as much time for the constructive work as those of us who have not to attend to Council duties; but I have satisfied myself that their responsible leaders intend to assist us to the best of their power and ability, and in this way strengthen their own hand also in the Councils. If they have to leave the Councils at any later stage, the work that will have by them been done outside in their constituencies through our joint efforts will ensure this much, that no bureaucratic Cromwell could say of their exit that not a dog barked when they took their departure. And if as a result of their labours in the Councils, Swaraj is achieved, I for one would certainly not refuse to accept it. If peace, harmony and goodwill were needed at Delhi to preserve the great reputation of the Congress they are still needed to-day to enhance that reputation and to help us to carry out the constructive programme.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME.

It was in the interests of this programme that I interested myself in the settlement at which we arrived at Delhi, for a whole year had been all but wasted by the major portion of the provinces in mutual recriminations, and if Mahatma Gandhi's release was to be obtained not by appeals *ad misericordiam* but through our own efforts, it was necessary to resume the work to which the Mahatma had rightly pinned his faith. I did not at the time itself realise the full extent of the havoc wrought since his removal; but the few replies that I have received to my enquiries about the details of the work done are sufficient indication that through one cause or another little work has been done. It is true there are provinces like Gujarat the work of which does credit to my friend Srijut Vallabhai Patel and to the band of devoted workers that Mahatma Gandhi left to work under him. Few provinces could show anything like as good a record of educational work, and but for Gujarat, the Khadi produced in other provinces would have remained unsold too long. The great glory of the Mahatma, however, was not that he changed the face of Gujarat, but that he also changed the face of the whole of India. No province did he leave exactly where he had found it. Gujarat is even now preparing a surprise for those who think that no area could be fit for Civil Disobedience if the Mahatma's characteristically high standard of preparation was to be retained But the example of Gujarat has not proved infectious enough, and we cannot afford to wrap ourselves up in self-sufficiency. The speed of the fleet is the speed of the slowest boat, and there are, alas, too many slow boats in our fleet, though, thank God, all are still sea-worthy. I could not place before my No-Change friends sounder canons of criticism than "A No-Changer" writing in "Young India" after Delhi has done.

"There is a limit (he writes) beyond which reason and argument cannot go. Some conclusions are in the nature of action, and they go beyond the pale of pure rationality. Where reason fails to persuade experience becomes the hard task-master. We realised that we had arrived at such a crisis. One year of argument and paralysis was tending to harden men in their Pharisaism and self-complacency. The testing time had come not only on the Swarajists, not only on the Centrists, not only on Mahomed Ali, but on us also, the No-Changers We have to submit ourselves to the discipline of facts. Since the witnessing to-day the spectacle of greedy days of the Calcutta Special Congress, Gandhism had won all along the line: and we, Gandhites, have been in continuous peril of loose thinking and draggled effort. It is good for everybody to be beaten. If there is truth in us, the very castigation of defeat will lead us to examine ourselves anew and find strength. If, on the contrary, Gandhism has become in our hands a plea for lethargy and refusal to re-think the implications of fast-developing reality, we are not the true followers of our Chief, we are not worthy to be the custodians of his message to the world. Reality—that is the ultimate touchstone."

Yes, Reality is the ultimate touch-stone, the truest and the surest that ever existed and Swarajists and Non-Changers, and you and I, all of us, friends, shall be tested and measured by Reality. That is why I preach to you the gospel of work. It is not as easy a gospel to practise as it is easy to preach, and that is why we have more critics than workers. But work well done furnishes an exhilarating experience which the sterile pleasures of criticism can never equal. As the Sanskrit poet, referring to the creative effort of poetry, says, "Little does the barren woman know of the pain and anguish of a mother's labours and less still of the indescribable joy of motherhood at the sight and touch of the new-born babe". Through labour alone shall a free India be re-born.

THE BARDOLI PROGRAMME TO BE CARRIED OUT.

You will no doubt ask me what should be our work; and my reply after the most careful consideration is that we cannot better the much-maligned Bardoli programme. If we continue to give up each item of work on finding difficulties and obstacles in our way, we shall never accomplish anything. Many people tell you Non-Co-operation has failed when they only mean that they, or we, or both, have failed to rise to the height of our ideal. And yet, as I have already told you, the steps proposed by the Mahatma are easy. Remember what the commonest of common soldiers is prepared to sacrifice when you feel that you must re-start your practice as a lawyer, or file your law-suit, or send your boy to a better-equipped school.

KHADI WORK AND WOMEN.

As for the man who cannot even wear khadi, it is no use taking him into serious consideration. And yet he is not unpatriotic, nor hopelessly selfish, but only lazy and indolent. Well, he has got to be roused out of his indolence, and the best and the most unfailing agency for this is the womanhood of India. Whosoever may change and fall from the high ideal of our great chief, the women of India are true to him, true to the nation, and true to themselves. With a few expert men like Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Maganlal Bhai and Chaganlal Bhai Gandhi to assist and advise them, and a full complement of book-keepers and clerks, etc., our sisters should be able to take the entire charge of the Khadi work in every province and district. Men may go to gaol, and men may come back, but the women of India should go on working our Khadi department for ever.

The other departments must also be organised, and the next in importance to Khadi is the department of National Education. I feel sorry that I did not press sufficiently hard at Bezwda, in 1921, for the creation of a Central Board of Education. But now a Central Educational Board and Provincial Boards must be created, and the education of our boys and girls must be seriously taken in hand. I need not go through the whole list of departments, for we cannot afford to neglect any item of the Bardoli programme. But we must follow the plan of 1921, and, while working all simultaneously, we must concentrate on particular departments during particular periods of the next year.

THE PROVISION OF FUNDS.

But all this is idle talk without funds, and the provision of funds is one item which requires concentration all through the year. When the country knows that it is only by carrying out the Mahatma's programme of work that we can manufacture the key of Yerrowda gaol, and that no work is possible without solvency, it will not fail to respond to our call. But apart from large donations to be appealed for at some fixed time, we must tap permanent, though small, sources of revenue, and enable the poor to go on contributing their mites to the National Chests. Fixed monthly contributions must be arranged for and other similar means of securing the poor man's assistance at intervals and in ways suited to his convenience must be thought out in addition to a well-organised national 'drive' for securing at least as many members of the Congress as the number of Indians wwho have been enfranchised. If, however, we work with a will, a full crore should not prove too many.

PERMANENT SECRETARIATS AND DEPARTMENTAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

And yet much as money may be necessary for working the Mahatma's programme, a powerul organisation is just as necessary to secure money. This cannot be in the main an organisation run by unpaid men. It is astonishing how we got on so long with our national work covering the whole area of this sub-continent with a paid establishment hardly large enough for a single department in a single district. We are face to face with a strange situation. On the one side we need competent, zealous and thoroughly reliable workers to carry on the national work, and have not got them. On the other hand, we have an army of the unemployed, partiuclarly the lawyers who have been so hard hit by the Non-co-operation programme, and they are very far from being unemployable. It is time that we accepted the obvious and the only possible solution of this double difficulty. We may pay our workers only a living wage on the reduced scale of era, but that living wage must be paid to those splendid workers who have made great sacrifices for the sake of the nation. Remember, a system that requires martyrs to work it gets worked in the next generation by cheats. And in any case, even martyrs have to be fed and clothed before they quit this world. India is foreign servants clamouring like so many Oliver Twists for more when they have already had, much more than even gluttony as a rule demands. The Indian Civil Servant, who is seldom Indian, or civil, or a servant, already gets paid more than any class of public servant of similar merit anywhere else in the world. It is he who always sets the pace to members of other services and thus continues to drain the resources of one of the poorest countries in the world. And he is doing this again so soon after the last increase in his emoluments. And yet it is he who accuses Indians engaged in the service of the nation of dishonest practices. I have no doubt that the moment he learns that the Congress is asked to pay the poorest of poor wages to such national workers he and his supporters in the Press will commence their old game of vilifying men who are the truest servants of India. Those who receive their wages in hundreds will be assailed by those who receive them in thousands and yet serve India so poorly. But this is part of the day's work and we must not mind it.

This, to my mind, is the most urgent need of the Congress, and I trust you will take steps to create an efficient organisation which will carry on the work of the Congress year in and year out. A proper National Secretariat, if possible located in some central place like Delhi, similar Provincial Secretariats and District Offices must be organised, and work in these Secretariats and offices must be properly differentiated into the various departments which we need to maintain. The Working Committee itself should be composed of men who are able to attend frequent meetings either at a central place, or wherever required by the exigencies of the moment.

Of course, we must see that all organisations are doing practical work which is capable of being checked and estimated, and, that expenditure is not allowed, after the initial month or thereabouts, to exceed revenue. I understand that the Salvation Army in England when it sends out workers to new centres pays them for a week's board and lodging in advance, and during that week they have to earn enough to pay their way in the following week. Later on, they are required to send a definite contribution to the Central Organisation. We shall have to follow some such system with regard to those of our workers who are engaged in enrolling Congress members. Once this machinery is set up, I feel confident the country can be roused again, and we shall be able to beat in 1924 the record of 1921. Remember, there is one great difference between now and 1921. Then, the Mahatma was free to organise and control the work, but to-day, although we shall miss him greatly, his very absence from our midst should stimulate us to work with redoubled energy. What would Christianity be without the Cross and Islam without the Tragedy of Kerbala? As I have said before we have not yet made full use of our Cross. Friends, let us do it now if we bear any love towards our absent leader, and, calling upon the nation to give us its full backing, free the country and break open the great Bastile which keeps Mahatma Gandhi and thousands of his disciples in chains.

THE SIKHS AND THE MAHARAJA SAHEB OF NABHA.

We have before us the example of our Sikh brothers whose courage, fortitude, and, above all, perfect non-violence excite my envy. The Maharaja Saheb of Nabha has been deposed, and the words in which the head of this foreign Government proclaims to us his firm resolve to keep him out of his State are only so much veiled blasphemy:

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on; nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

We hold no brief for the Maharaja Saheb; but this much is certain, that even if all that his detractors say of him be true, he was not deposed for any such short-comings, but for his virtues. I am myself the subject of an Indian Ruler and have had fairly intimate experience of several Indian States. I used to be approached very frequently by those friends who desired to see political reforms carried out in Indian States. But I used to put them off with the observation that the Indian States are our own, even though to-day they may prove far more unsafe for patriotic men than the rest of India. I used to add that once the rest of India had won Swaraj, Indian States would undergo a sea-change with astonishing rapidity. In the meantime it should be our policy not to rouse the suspicions of the rulers of these States, and to avail ourselves of every opportunity to prove to them that we are not unmindful of their difficulties nor indifferent to what they, too, have to suffer from this foreign bureaucracy. I did not know at the time that the Government would provide such an opportunity so soon. But now that it has been provided let us avail ourselves of it, for in doing so we shall also be safeguarding the interests of religion. The Maharaja Saheb of Nabha has suffered, at least partly, because he strongly sympathised with his co-religionists in their efforts to free themselves from the foreign bureaucratic incubus, and to reform their sacred Gurudwaras. And the Sikhs in their turn are suffering because they have had the courage to stand up for one of our Indian Rulers whom the bureaucracy desires to keep in perpetual dependence upon itself. But, as I have said before, the recent action of Government in declaring the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal to be unlawful assemblies is a blow aimed not only at those bodies, or at the entire Sikh community: it is a challenge to the entire nation. Each community that dares to live will be similarly dealt with if we shrink from accepting the challenge to-day, and it will only be a question, of whose turn at the tumbrils will come next?

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

We have already resolved to offer some assistance to our Sikh brethren so that we may not be guilty of indulging in lip-

(Continued on next page.)

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INDIA'S NEED OF THE HOUR.

(Continued from previous page.)

sympathy only. But something more than that is required. A better opportunity for Civil Disobedience at least on a provincial scale never presented itself since the arrest of the Mahatma; but it is no use disguising from ourselves the fact that to organise Civil Disobedience is no easy matter. We must be sure of our capacity to undergo unlimited sufferings, and since constructive work has not been done this year even as well as it was done in 1921, there is little to indicate how much suffering the nation is prepared to endure. If, however, we resume our constructive work with redoubled energy, Civil Disobedience will not remain a mere possibility, and the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at Delhi will then be able to do much more fruitful work. For it must also be recognised that Civil Disobedience must be resorted to before Swaraj can be won. Let there be no mistake about this. There must be no shrinking from sacrifice, and this observation I would like to address in particular to such of my friends as have already undergone imprisonment for courageously standing up for their rights. If that experience makes them shrink from doing such work as may lead to a second period of imprisonment then, I say, they are not the men for us. The first imprisonment is obviously wasted upon them, for they should never have undertaken to do any national work, or should, at least, have made apologies to their foreign masters as soon as they were punished. To have undergone all this suffering and then to repent is the height of folly. As I wrote in the Bijapur gaol:

(If there is a sin even greater than sinlessness it is repentence over sin after the award of punishment.)

THE SHORT CUT TO LIBERTY.

Friends, I have given you a long enough programme of work, and I cannot help it if it is a little too insipid for your tastes. There is no royal road to Liberty. But there is one short cut, and that is the readiness to follow the road to the grave. Death for a great cause provides the most piquant sauce for the most tasteless dish, and I make bold to say that if our Working Committee took it into its head one day to resolve that all its members should prepare themselves to die and that the resolution was not only a "resolution" merely according to conventional phraseology, but embodied the members' firm determination, I could guarantee them Swaraj within a year. And if it was the All-India Congress Committee that made such a resolve for itself, Swaraj could be won within a month. But, friends, Swaraj is in *your* hands and can be won *to-day* if each of you resolves to be ready to die at the country's call. If, however, we are not prepared to do this, and object to the Bardoli programme because it is dull and drab, then it is useless to talk of changing the Congress creed. Let us resolve to work, and, if need be, to die for the sake of our nation's freedom, and if at the end of a year's honest work this Government does not send for our absent leader to witness its heart-felt repentence for the past, and to receive the great charter of Swaraj for the future, let us in God's name unfurl without a moment's hesitation the flag of the Indian Republic, India's Independent Federation of Faiths. Then, friends, you will not find your retiring President so unwilling to break the link that joins him to Great Britain as he is in some quarters suspected to be. In 1921 we gave a year to ourselves and the same period to the Government; but our part of the contract was not fulfilled, and we could not demand Swaraj as the price of our unfinished work. Let us go back to Nagpur, and with trust in our Maker and a prayer addressed to Him to give us courage, fortitude, perseverance and wisdom, begin the great work once more that our great leader has outlined for us. If only we do not prove unworthy of him we shall win back our lost liberty and it will not be as a prayer for success, but as the declaration of victory won, that we shall then raise the old, old cry:

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A FEW OF THE THOUSANDS

of letters received from the patients are reproduced below to give an idea of the God-gifted curing qualities of Panditji to those who do not know him already.

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY, RAJA SAHIB, KHANIADHANA STATE, WRITES:—

"DEAR PANDITJI,

I am writing this letter with the orders from Raja Sahib. Shri Mata Rani Devi was suffering from many ailments since three years. All sorts of treatment failed to cure her. Of course, there was no real diagnosis; some said consumption, others said heart disease. After this we came to know of your abilities and when you came here on 25th December 1915, and diagnosed the disease as the after-effects of Rakta Pitta, we were all surprised. After three days' treatment there was sufficient relief and now she is alright, all the troubles have disappeared, and she can even digest milk now which she was unable to do for years long. We all are greatly obliged for this."

DOCTOR ADMITTED IT.

"DEAR SIR,

When you allowed me to go to my place after a treatment of nearly seven days and I came here, my relative Rai Bahadur Doctor ....examined me and said with surprise that more than half of my disease had gone away; he told me that I had three ulcers in my anus, two of which were healed and third was one half of its size when he saw me before; he advised me to continue such a wonderful medicine. I am taking your medicine regularly and hope to be completely cured. I have written this before leaving the station because I know that this will please you more than myself. To cure such ulcers with internal medicine is nothing less than a wonder."

RAI BAHADUR GIAN CHAND, HONORARY MAGISTRATE, VICE-PRESIDENT, MUNCIPAL COMMITTEE, SIALKOTE WRITES:—

"Respected Panditji, Pranam! I have tried your medicines in my house and they have always proved very efficacious. In December last I sent for Abhrak Bhasma for fever and cough of my brother's wife, which completely cured her. God will send you blessings for you are doing such a good work for the welfare of the country. Not only myself but all the members of my family are obliged to you."

AN INCURABLE DISEASE.

"I was in Baniar (Kashmir) when I first felt some disorders. After a time attending doctors, I came to know that I was suffering from Bright's disease. I was, therefore, sent to Srinagar Hospital—pay ward, but disease was increasing and after some time I was advised to go to Lahore to get the help of able doctors there. I tried for 15 days the best doctors in Lahore but to no effect. I was told that this disease had been investigated by doctor Bright and that Indian physicians did not know even its name. So up to that time I had not consulted any Vaidya or Hakim, but when there was no relief I determined to try Ayurvedic and went under Shriman Pt. Thakur Datta Sharma's treatment. Thank God! I have now hopes to live in world again and cannot find words to thank Panditji. May he live long and prosper! I have found that Ayurvedic is really wonderful in curing diseases. I spoiled my health, my wealth, my valuable time, and after all was cured by Ayurvedic treatment with so little cost. I have now taken the charge of my duties.

RAMNATH
"Accountant, Jummoo."

STERILITY.

"I was impotent and sterile, Panditji prescribed for me AKSIR NO. 48, Shilajit and Aramjan. I am by the Grace of God alright now and have got three sons, my wife being pregnant again.

ALI KHAN Esqr., SUBEDAR,
CHITRAL."

SEXUAL DISEASES.

"AKSIR NO. I which I sent for from your Pharmacy proved very efficacious. I have not seen such a successful and experienced Vaidya. You have prepared every medicine after a long study. You are indeed a specialist in the cure of sexual diseases.

HARI CHARN LALL,
GORAKHPORE."

BLOOD IMPURITY.

Shrimanji, I have had the privilege of using your Sarsarishta compound. The medicine, let me state, has proved really wonderful in cleaning the blood. I used many medicines of your Pharmacy, and by the grace of God every one of them have proved extremely effective.

HARI SINGH VARMA, Kheri Sultan,
(P. O. Patova, District Rohtak.)

INDIGESTION.

Dear Panditji, For the last year I have been suffering from indigestion. I constantly complained of dyspepsia and dysentery. After all I got great relief by using your KURKULILS. I have more ve improved h. strength also now.

MOTI RAM, Clerk,
Delhi London Bank Simla,

MITHA PHAL.

Dear Panditji, I am extremely obliged to you, for as a result of the use of your medicine "Mitha Phal," my wife has borne us a boy. Ten daughters had already been born and I had to feel disappointed every time. In a state of extreme disappointment a neighbour suggested your name, I came and got Mitha Phal from you and by the grace of God I was blessed by a male child this time. I cannot fully thank you. God has in his mercy such gifts still in store for men.

NUR-UD-DIN,
Mistri, Icchra.

URINARY TROUBLE.

Respected Panditji, my friend has been using the medicine you sent me, in accordance with your instructions. Gonorrhoea cure No. 2 has given him back his health. The mixture is really a tried and unfailing cure. I thank you for it.

S. SHAMSHER SINGH,
Jagirdar, Ramgarh via Morandah.

TOOTH TROUBLE.

Dear Pandit Sahib,

I was suffering from unbearable toothache. I could'nt take food because of this severe pain. I used all sorts of tooth powders and tooth pastes I couid lay my hands on, but to no purpose. At last, I bought one packet of your tooth powder, and I can state it on oath, it cured my toothache on the very first day.

TASDIQ HUSSAIN.
Shaikhupura, Distt. Monghyr,

SPLEEN.

Dear Panditji,

About three months back I got from you, spleen cure No. 5, and it has shown magical curative effects. I had spent lot of money to get rid of this pernicious malady. Every day brought me new V. P. Ps. of Indian and English medicines. Only your medicine, however, had any healthy effect on me. I am very grateful to you for it.

RAM LAL SHARMA,
Range Officer Bajag,

Local Agent:—Gulam Hussain Valimahamad Devji, Charka Master, Chuckla Bazar, Bombay.

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